

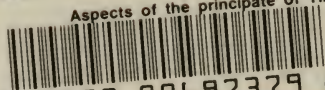
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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 116

ASPECTS OF THE PRINCIPATE OF TIBERIUS

By MICHAEL GRANT



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET, NEW YORK

1950

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

Number 116

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS
is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating to coins, paper money, medals and decorations.

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ASPECTS OF THE PRINCIPATE OF TIBERIUS

HISTORICAL COMMENTS ON THE
COLONIAL COINAGE ISSUED
OUTSIDE SPAIN

By MICHAEL GRANT



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET

NEW YORK

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THE ANTHOENSEN PRESS, PORTLAND, MAINE

DEDICATED
TO
MY FATHER
COLONEL MAURICE HAROLD GRANT

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PREFACE

PROBLEMS concerning the principate of Tiberius have received much attention during the last hundred years,¹ and not least during the decade now ending.² The studies undertaken recently have brought a number of these problems appreciably nearer to solution. But at the same time these studies have underlined the need for a general survey of the reign, which will be cognisant of all the material that has now been collected and studied—and of other material which has not yet received this attention.

The present work is far from being designed to provide any such comprehensive survey. Instead its modest aim is to set out, and discuss, certain numismatic evidence which the writer of such an eventual survey should take into consideration. For any serious estimate of this principate will need to devote some attention (however cursory) to all the main branches of contemporary coinage. Our principal literary authorities for the period, Tacitus,³ Suetonius⁴ and Dio Cassius,⁵ wrote nearly a century—in the last instance two centuries—after the rule of Tiberius. They saw him through a thick haze of prejudices and misconceptions.⁶ As regards this peri-

¹ Good bibliographies, though not up to date as regards continental literature, are given by Smith, pp. 257 ff., and (supplementing it) Scramuzza, *AJP*, 1944, pp. 404 ff.; that of Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, pp. 960 ff., is excellent for the years before 1934.

² Important studies during this period are those of Pippidi, *AT* (some of this, like most of *RCI*, was first published somewhat earlier); Kornemann, parts of *GFA* and *GR*; Smith; and Rogers (see Abbreviations).

³ Among many recent studies see H. Drexler, *Tacitus: Grundzüge einer politischen Pathologie, Auf dem Wege zum Nationalpolitischen Gymnasium*, 1939, Heft 8; E. Ciaceri, *Tacito (I grandi Italiani, iii)*, 1945; W. Theiler, *Tacitus und die Antike Schicksalslehre (Phyllobolia für P. von der Mühl)*, 1945—all reviewed by A. Momigliano, *JRS*, 1946, pp. 225 f.—and especially D. M. Pippidi, *Tacite et Tibère*, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, pp. 11 ff., reviewed by Balsdon, *JRS*, 1946, pp. 168 ff. Pippidi's work has a good bibliography, as has Koestermann, *Bursians Jahresbericht*, 1943, pp. 156 ff.

⁴ A recent study of his Tiberius (concentrating on the years before A.D. 14) is that of M. J. Du Four (see Abbreviations).

⁵ See Andersen, *Dio Cassius und die Begründung des Prinzipats*, *Neue Deutsche Forschungen*, CXCVI, 1938; Snyder, *Klio*, 1940, pp. 39 ff.

⁶ This is one of the very few points on which the present writer perhaps diverges from the masterly study of Tiberius by Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, pp. 607 ff. (Ch. XIX), who describes Tacitus in more favourable terms (but see p. 128 n. 277).

od at least, they owe their reputation as primary sources of information to the accident that contemporary histories, other than that of the useful but second-rate Velleius,⁷ have not survived. We are a little better off as regards the visual arts under Tiberius; but difficulties of chronology make the evidence of sculpture and cameos so enigmatic that it is of limited value for historical purposes. The same applies, in some degree, to the Tiberian inscriptions (cf. papyri) that have come down to us. They are relatively abundant, but fragmentary and fortuitous; and just as the case against Tiberius is presented by writers too late to be reliable, so too there is no counterpart of the Monumentum Ancyranum to present the case on his behalf.

But in addition to these categories of information there are the coins. A great many coins were issued during the principate of Tiberius; and all of them deserve examination, for they may perhaps fill some of the numerous gaps left by our information from other sources. Their types cannot be expected to tell us how things really were, but they will at least tell us how the princeps and his government, and the cities of the empire, wanted them to seem; and evidence of this kind is particularly necessary for a period regarding which the literary tradition is, as here, predominantly unfriendly.

However, the task of extorting information from the coins of Tiberius is a long one. They are various but often uncommon—laconic and conventional, but complicated and obscure.⁸ Each subdivision of them will need separate treatment before a synthesis can be attempted. In Roman Anniversary Issues (Chapter III), I have tried to indicate certain features of his official mintages.⁹ Sec-

⁷ For his greater utility than has usually been believed, see Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 67, n. 2; for his aim, cf. W. John, *Hermes*, 1943, p. 109.

⁸ Cf. Sutherland, *Numismatic Review*, II, 1944, pp. 9 f., *AJP*, 1947, p. 57, *JRS*, 1938, p. 129. Compare the utterances of Tiberius himself (*Tac., Ann.*, I, 11): *suspensa semper et obscura verba*; cf. Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 37.

⁹ For an attempted definition of this category, considered to include issues such as those of Alexandria, Caesarea in Cappadocia, Antioch, etc. (where no city ethnic appears), see *FITA*, p. 1 and n. 1.

ondly, as regards the coinage of peregrine cities during the same period, I have made some tentative and preliminary observations in *From Imperium to Auctoritas*. But fundamental treatment of these two subjects is needed; and it will not be attempted here.

The third main category of coinage comprises the issues of Roman cities, *oppida civium Romanorum*. They are divided by status into *coloniae* and *municipia*. If, however, we classify these cities by geography rather than status, they again fall into two divisions—the mintages of Spain and those outside Spain. These two divisions are differentiated not only by geographical location but also by the following further characteristics. First, the Spanish division provides, at this period, as many mints as the whole of the non-Spanish division. Secondly, the Spanish coinages are mostly common or at least not very rare, whereas the non-Spanish issues are almost without exception of the greatest rarity. Thirdly, a beginning, and more than a beginning, has been made with the publication and analysis of the Spanish issues. Comparatively full lists of this series have been published,¹⁰ and some of this material has been correlated with historical data from other sources. It would be imprudent to try to carry this subject much further until the publication, now planned, of the British Museum and the Hispanic Society of America collections. A contrast to this activity is presented by Roman cities outside Spain. For as regards the coinage at these cities—with a very few exceptions (e.g. Corinth)—no such services have been performed in recent times; much less has any attempt been made to consider more than one mint in conjunction. These, therefore, rather than the Spanish issues, have been selected as the subject of the present work. Or rather, I have chosen, not the non-Spanish *oppida civium Romanorum* as a whole, but the non-Spanish *coloniae* only;¹¹ for very few *municipia* outside the Peninsula

¹⁰ E.g. by Heiss, *Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne*; Delgado, *Medallas autónomas de España*; Vives y Escudero, *La Moneda Hispánica*; and (for a large part of the field) Hill, *The Coinage of Hispania Tarraconensis*, NNM, 50, 1931.

¹¹ I.e., the *coloniae civium Romanorum*. For some comments on the peregrine *coloniae Latinae* see Appendix 5.

(Utica—and—perhaps also Tingis) coined at this time, and it has seemed better, at this stage, to relegate their peculiar problems, like others which exist on the periphery of my subject, to a brief Appendix.¹²

This work begins (Chapter I) with a list and discussion of all the non-Spanish colonial coinages that I attribute to the principate of Tiberius. Both list and discussion are, in the present state of knowledge, included with considerable diffidence,¹³ and largely in the hope of inviting additions and corrections. The remaining two chapters look, through the eyes of the colonies, towards Rome. Chapter II deals with the person of Tiberius, with the friends to whom he and his government gave authority, and with the “Virtues” or principles officially favoured by that government. Chapter III is concerned with his Julio-Claudian seniors and juniors, dead and alive, and especially with Livia. Such conclusions as are reached are summed up in a brief recapitulatory section.

I have tried to co-ordinate the non-Spanish colonial coinages with a small selection of the other historical evidence—numismatic, epigraphic and literary. In pursuit of this aim I have sometimes, as for example in dealing with the imperial auspices, allowed myself to use the colonial issues as the text for a discussion instead of merely endeavouring to draw inferences from the information that they provide. The various categories of evidence are inextricably inter-related, and cannot be very fruitful from a historian’s point of view if each is only looked at separately. Indeed, if this is true as between the various main categories of evidence such as numismatics,¹⁴ literature, epigraphy, etc., it is equally true within the single but complex field of numismatics. Thus, for instance, the Spanish aes coinage of Tiberius, though not forming part of the subject-matter

¹² See Appendix 2.

¹³ Some doubtful cases are discussed in Appendix 1.

¹⁴ This need for combining numismatics with other sciences is stressed by A. von Loehr, *Führer durch die kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, XXX, 1944, pp. 7 ff.; but see Instinsky, *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, I, 1947, p. 81, in a somewhat contrary sense.

of this work, is—as it needs to be—frequently quoted for purposes of comparison and illustration (see Index 2).

The addresses appearing below this Preface bear witness to the first obligations which it is my agreeable task to record. For I have to express to the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, my profound gratitude for the special facilities which they have granted me for the continuation, after interruption owing to the war, of my Research Fellowship. I am also very grateful to them, and to the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, for defraying the costs of preparing the present study. I am indebted to a number of museums, and to the authorities in charge of them and of their coin-departments, who have allowed me to study their collections and have contributed the casts of which, photographed by the Chiswick Press, illustrations appear in this monograph; and I also owe an acknowledgment to private collectors. I am obliged to Messrs. Johnson, Matthey and Co., Ltd., and to Mr. D. M. Smith of their staff, for undertaking a series of spectrographic analyses (see Appendix 3).

I desire also to extend my sincere thanks to the publishers of this study; and I owe a particular debt of gratitude to Professor A. R. Bellinger for reading it most carefully and offering many invaluable comments.

MICHAEL GRANT

August, 1948; and
January, 1950

Cambridge, England; and
Edinburgh, Scotland

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Abh. Leipzig</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
AC	<i>L'Antiquité Classique.</i>
AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> (Appendix of <i>Revue Archéologique</i> , or separate).
AEA	<i>Arquivo Española de Arqueología.</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology.</i>
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.</i>
<i>Ath. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.</i>
<i>Augustus</i>	<i>Augustus, Studi in Occasione del Bimillenario Augusto, Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1938.</i>
AVAO	<i>Avhandlingar utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps Akademi i Oslo, Hist.-Filos. Kl.</i>
BAF	<i>Bulletin des Antiquaires de France.</i>
Balsdon	J. P. V. D. Balsdon, <i>The Emperor Gaius</i> , Oxford, 1934.
BIDR	<i>Bullettino dell' Istituto di Diritto Romano.</i>
BMC	<i>British Museum Catalogues</i> , London.
<i>BMC. Imp.</i>	H. Mattingly, <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , London, 1923—.
Bosch	C. Bosch, <i>Die kleinasiatischen Münzen der römischen Kaiserzeit</i> , II, 1, Stuttgart, 1935.
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i>
Caley	E. R. Caley, <i>The Composition of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins</i> (<i>Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society</i> , XI), Philadelphia, 1939.
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (Boeckh).
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin, 1870—.
Cohen	H. Cohen, <i>Description Historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain</i> , second edition, Paris, 1880-1892.
CP	<i>Classical Philology.</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review.</i>

- CRAI* *Comptes-Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.*
- De Laet S. J. de Laet, *De Samenstelling van den Romeinschen Senaat gedurende de Eerste Eeuw van het Principaat (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Wijsbegeerte en Letteren, 92^e Aflevering)*, Gent, 1941.
- Diss: Dissertation.
- Du Four M. J. Du Four, *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vita Tiberii*, Chs. I-XXIII, Diss: Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1941.
- ED* *Ephemeris Dacoromana.*
- Ehrenberg V. Ehrenberg, *Aspects of the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1946.
- ESAR* *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (ed. Tenney Frank), Baltimore, 1933-.
- FITA* M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, Cambridge (England), 1946.
- Gaebler H. Gaebler, *Die Antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands*, III, 2, Berlin, 1906.
- Garrucci R. Garrucci, *Le Monete dell'Italia antica*, Rome, 1885.
- Greenidge A. H. J. Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, London, 1901.
- Grose S. W. Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection*, Cambridge (England).
- Hägerström A. Hägerström, *Uppsala Univ. Årsskrift*, 1929, *Jur. Fak. Minneskrift*, VIII.
- Hammond M. Hammond, *The Augustan Principate*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1933.
- Head B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, second edition, Oxford, 1911.
- HTR* *Harvard Theological Review.*
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae.*
- IGRR* *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, Paris, 1911-1927.
- ILS* H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, 1892-1916.
- Imhoof-Blumer, F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Abt.*, 18, Munich, 1890.
- GM*

- Id., *KM* Id., *Kleinasiatische Münzen, Sonderschrift des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts*, Vienna, 1901-1902.
- Id., *LS* Id., *Lydische Stadtmünzen* (from *Revue Suisse de Numismatique*, 1897).
- Id., *MG* Id., *Monnaies Grecques*, Paris, 1883.
- JAIW* *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts*.
- JIAN* *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique*.
- JRS* *Journal of Roman Studies*.
- JS* *Journal des Savants*.
- Kornemann, *DR* E. Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1930.
- Id., *GFA* Id., *Grosse Frauen des Altertums*, Leipzig, 1942.
- Id., *GR* Id., *Gestalten und Reiche*, Leipzig, 1943.
- Id., *RG* Id., *Römische Geschichte*, Stuttgart, 1938-1939.
- Macdonald G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, Glasgow, 1899-1905.
- Magdelain A. Magdelain, *Auctoritas Principis*, Paris, 1947.
- MAH* *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome*.
- Marsh F. B. Marsh, *The Reign of Tiberius*, second edition, Oxford, 1927.
- Mattingly, *RC* H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, London, 1928 (see also *BMC. Imp.* and *RIC*).
- Mionnet T. E. Mionnet, *Description de Médailles Antiques Grecques et Romains*, Paris, 1807-1837.
- MKAW* *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Lett.*
- Mommsen, *St. R.*³ Th. Mommsen, *Das Römische Staatsrecht*, third edition of Vols. I-II, Leipzig, 1887.
- Müller L. Müller in Falbe, Lindberg & Müller's *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique*, Copenhagen, 1860-1874.
- NC* *Numismatic Chronicle*.
- Newby J. D. Newby, *Numismatic Commentary on the Res Gestae of Augustus*, Iowa, 1938.
- Nicodemi G. Nicodemi, *Catalogo delle Raccolte Numismatiche del Castello Sforzesco*, Milan, 1939.

NNM	<i>Numismatic Notes and Monographs.</i>
NS	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.</i>
NZ	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift.</i>
Pippidi, AT	D. M. Pippidi, <i>Autour de Tibère</i> , Bucharest, 1944.
Id., RCI	Id., <i>Recherches sur le Culte Impérial</i> , Bucharest, 1940.
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> (Klebs-Dessau) Berlin, 1897—, second ed. (Groag-Stein), Berlin-Leipzig, 1933—.
von Premerstein	A. von Premerstein, <i>Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats</i> , <i>Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Abt., NF.</i> 15, München, 1937.
QA	<i>Quaderni Augustei</i> , Rome, 1937—.
QAS	<i>Quaderni Augustei, Studi Stranieri</i> , Rome, 1937—.
RA	<i>Revue Archéologique.</i>
RAI	M. Grant, <i>Roman Anniversary Issues</i> , Cambridge (England), 1950.
Ramsay, SBRP	W. M. Ramsay, <i>The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor</i> , Aberdeen, 1941.
RB	<i>Revue Belge de Numismatique.</i>
RC	<i>Revista Clasică.</i>
RE	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Ziegler), Stuttgart, 1894—.
REA	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes.</i>
REL	<i>Revue des Études Latines.</i>
RG	<i>Res Gestae Divi Augusti.</i>
RGMG	Waddington, Babelon and Reinach, <i>Recueil Général des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure</i> , Paris, 1904—.
RH	<i>Revue Historique.</i>
RHSE	<i>Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen.</i>
RIC	H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham (also C. H. V. Sutherland and P. H. Webb), <i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , London, 1923—.
RN	<i>Revue Numismatique Française.</i>
Rogers	R. S. Rogers, <i>Studies in the Reign of Tiberius</i> , Baltimore, 1943.

- Röm. Mitt. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.*
- Rostovtzeff, SEH M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1926.
- Id., SES Id., *Storia Economica e Sociale dell'Impero Romano*, Florence, 1933.
- RPAA *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.*
- RPh. *Revue de Philologie.*
- RRIL *Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere.*
- RS *Revue Suisse de Numismatique (Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau).*
- Sav. Z. *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung.*
- SB München *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Kl.*
- SB Wien *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philos.-hist. Kl.*
- Scramuzza, EC V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius (Harvard Historical Studies XLIV)*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1940.
- Smith C. E. Smith, *Tiberius and the Roman Empire*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1942.
- SMSR *Studi e Materiali della Storia di Religioni.*
- SNGC *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, National Museum, Copenhagen, 1942-.
- Sutherland, RIS C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Romans in Spain*, London, 1939.
- Svoronos Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète Ancienne*, I, Macon, 1890.
- SWC M. Grant, *19 B.C.: A Step Towards World Coinage* (in press, Princeton, N. J.).
- Syme, RR R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford, 1939.
- TAPA *Transactions of the American Philological Association.*
- Taylor, DRE L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor (Philological Monographs published by the American Philological Association, I)*, Middletown, Conn., 1931.

Vives	A. Vives y Escudero, <i>La Moneda Hispánica</i> , Madrid, 1924-1926.
Wagenvoort	H. Wagenvoort, <i>Roman Dynamism</i> , Oxford, 1947.
Weber	W. Weber, <i>Princeps</i> , I, Stuttgart, 1936.
Willrich	H. Willrich, <i>Livia</i> , Leipzig-Berlin, 1911.
Wissowa, <i>RKR</i> ²	L. Wissowa, <i>Die Religion und Kultus der Römer</i> , second edition, Munich, 1912 (in I. van Müller's <i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft</i>).
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i> .
<i>ZfN</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i> .

CHAPTER I

THE COINS AND THE COLONIES

(i) Description of the Coinage¹

A. WESTERN EUROPE

PAESTUM²

1. Laureate head to right, *lituus*.

Rev. Q OCTAVIVS M·EGNATIVS IIVIR·PĀE·S·S·C· in oak(?) -wreath.

Berlin (PLATE I, 1), Copenhagen, writer's collection.

SNGC, Italy, III, Plate 27, no. 1381. Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 16, quotes a variant with head to left and M· EGNATIVS Q· OCTAVI[VS IIVIR] PAES· (sic) S·S·C. For the probable date of these pieces (early Tiberius), see *FITA*, p. 287, n. 8. The coins of Q. Octavius and M. Egnatius, though too poorly preserved for any confident conclusions to be drawn from them, seem to differ from other issues of Paestum ascribed to Tiberius by showing a number of portraits reminiscent of the last years of Augustus, as well as others with the Tiberian cast of countenance that is more frequent at this mint. As is pointed out in *FITA*, loc. cit., cf. pp. 328, 463, a very large number of portraits of late Augustan type on local coinages are demonstrably posthumous; and the same may apply to these, though this cannot be regarded as certain.

¹ For doubtful pieces see Appendix 1. The discussions added to descriptions in this section are only concerned with the actual attribution of the coins to mints or principates, or with the status of the minting city. For the omission of Spain, see p. 9.

² For the status of Paestum as an Augustan colony see *FITA*, pp. 201 f., 286 f., cf. Piganiol, *RA*, XXII, 1944, p. 123. Inscriptions with *municipium* and *municeps* (Marzullo, *Atti della Società Italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze*, V, 1932, *Estratto*, p. 17) seem too late to support Duval's view (*RA*, XXI, 1944, p. 171) of a Sullan colony.

2. Laureate head to left, *lituus*.

Rev. Q· OCT· M· EGN· IIVIR·S·P·S·[C·] in oak (?) -wreath.

Naples (PLATE I, 2), Paris, Copenhagen.

Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 18; *SNGC, Italy*, III, Plate 27, no. 1382. A London piece has head to right. Vienna and Paris examples (PLATE I, 3) have M· EGN· Q· OCT· IIVIR· P·S·S·[C·] in wreath.

3. P·S·S·C· laureate head to right.

Rev. L· LICINIVS IIVIR. Victory standing or walking to right, holding laurel-wreath and palm.

Copenhagen (PLATE I, 4), London, Berlin.

Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 21; *SNGC, Italy*, III, Plate 27, no. 1386. The portraits on these pieces and on all Paestan issues described hereunder are unmistakably Tiberian.

4. Bare head to right, *lituus*.

Rev. C· LOLLI·M·DOI· (sic) IIVIRI P·S·S·C·. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patra* and sceptre.

London (PLATE I, 5), Cambridge, Copenhagen.

BMC, Italy, p. 282, no. 78; Grose, I, p. 147, no. 1155; *SNGC, Italy*, III, Plate 27, no. 1383. Erroneously described by Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 17.

5. Bare head to right, *lituus*.

Rev. C· LOLLI·M·DOI·IIVIRI ITER· P·S·S·C·. Diana standing facing, wearing short tunic, carrying bow, and carrying or leaning on spear.

London (PLATE I, 6), Cambridge, Munich.

BMC, Italy, p. 282, no. 80; Grose, I, p. 147, no. 1158; Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 20; Boutkowski, *Dictionnaire Numismatique*, I, p. 74, no. 179 bis, II, p. 1578, no. 2635.

6. P·S·S·C· laureate head to right.

Rev. A· VERGILI·OPT·IIVIR. Mars standing to left, helmeted, naked except for cloak hanging over left arm, holding *hasta* (?) and *parazonium*.

Vienna (PLATE I, 7), London. A Cambridge specimen (PLATE I, 10) also seems to represent this type.

Grose, I, p. 147, no. 1159. Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 22, misdescribes. Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 23: S·C·P·S. Copenhagen (*SNGC, Italy*, III, Plate 27, no. 1384): S·S·C·P.; this piece shows clearly that the shaft carried by Mars is that of a *hasta* or sceptre and not a *vexillum*. But on a variant at Vienna with [P·S·]S·C. (PLATE I, 8) Mars is carrying a *vexillum* instead. A Paris piece (PLATE I, 9) shows the latter variation, a pedestal under the figure of Mars and on the obverse S·P·C·S. and laureate head to left.

7. P·S·S·[C·] laureate head to right.

Rev. L·CAEL·CLEM·FLA·TI·CAESAR. *Apex*.

London (PLATE I, 11).

Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 24; Mattingly, RC, Plate XLVIII, 4.

8. P·S·S·C· laureate head to right.

Rev. L·CAEL·FLA·TI·AVG·TI· CAESAR IIVIR. Victory in *biga* of horses galloping to left; above horses' heads, *apex*.

Paris (PLATE I, 12); Copenhagen (PLATE I, 13); Cambridge (PLATE I, 14); Berlin, Vienna.

Grose, I, p. 147, no. 1162; *SNGC, Italy*, III, Plate 27, no. 1385, give incomplete descriptions. The full legend (in which there may be minor variations) is restored with difficulty from the specimens at Berlin (... TI·AVG·TI·CAESA...) and Cambridge (... CAEL·FLA... TI·CAE... IIVIR). The latter however (Grose, loc. cit.) may read FLA·AVG· instead of FLA·TI·AVG·; and so may the Copenhagen example.

9. P·S·S·C· laureate head to right.

Rev. C·FADI·L(?) AR(?) same type as last.

Berlin, Naples.

This is the most that can at present be made of nos. 282 and 2748 in the Berlin and Naples collections respectively. They were noted by the present writer on earlier visits to those cabinets, but it has now been impossible to obtain casts or illustrations of either coin, since the two collections are not *in situ*. The description given above is conjectural. It is doubtful whether a piece quoted by Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 24, "L·IVL·

FEL·FLA·TI·CAESAR·AVG·, *quadrige* [sic] to left" (stated to be at Naples), has any separate existence. The same doubt was evidently felt by Muensterberg, whose manuscript addition to the Vienna Cabinet's copy of his *Römische Beamtennamen* (NZ, 1911, p. 81), shown to the present writer by the kindness of Dr. Pink, ascribes to "Naples 2748" both Garrucci's no. 25 and another legend which he reads as L·CAEL·FLA . . . L·FAD·IIVIR. It is hazardous to attempt to restore the legend, but it is just possible that a C. Fadius, instead of partnering L. Cael. *Fla. Aug.*, preceded or succeeded him as colleague of Ti. Caesar *Iivir*. No. 284 in the Berlin collection is another mysterious piece but too ill-preserved to be of much assistance; it may conceivably show the name of Fadius with a different type.³

PANORMUS

10. P·F·SILVA·PR· olive (?)-branch.

Rev. SALASI·LVCI·II· *triskeles*.

London (PLATE I, 15), Berlin, Naples.

Not in *BMC, Sicily*. Imhoof-Blumer, *MG*, p. 37, corrects the F· on the obverse from the P· rendered by Klein, *Die römischen Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 90. For the suggested attribution to Panormus, see *FITA*, pp. 197 f., n. 6. A somewhat similar piece bearing the name of L. Seius *procos* is attributed to Haluntium, *FITA*, p. 199. It is unlikely that both pieces are of the same mint, since the various *aes* pieces with names of proconsuls (for PR·, as here, for PR[*aetor*] or PR[*oconsule*], see *FITA*, pp. 35, 61) all appear to be foundation issues of different colonies and *municipia* (ibid., p. 198). It is not impossible that the coin of P. F. Silva is of Haluntium and that of L. Seius of Panormus (instead of *vice versa*), but the former's resemblance to a peregrine issue of Panormus (ibid., p. 197, n. 6; cf. Bahrfeldt, *RS*, 1904, Plate IV, 92, 93) has made the present attribution seem preferable.

For the attribution of these pieces to a late Augustan or Tiberian date see *FITA*, loc. cit., against Groag, *PIR*², III (1943), p. 94, no. 2, etc.; cf. also a close resemblance in general composition (though not necessarily in style) to Roman *quadrantes* attributed by the present writer to A.D. c. 10-14 (this is briefly suggested in *RAI*, Chapter II, section ii; but the detailed demonstration still remains to be undertaken), and to small coins of Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus, *legatus* of Syria A.D.

³ For the *duoviri* L. Suei. M. Nun. see Appendix 1.

c. 12-17 (*FITA*, p. 127, nn. 16 ff.; wrongly given as A.D. 12-15 on p. 396; de Laet, p. 241, gives 11-17). Haluntium was perhaps established as a *municipium* not long before the death of Augustus (*FITA*, p. 199, n. 6), and it has been suggested on historical grounds that Panormus may have become a *colonia civium Romanorum* after the accession of Tiberius (*FITA*, pp. 197 f., n. 6). It cannot, however, be considered certain that the present issue belongs to the reign of Tiberius, but it is included here since the balance of probability seems slightly to favour this interpretation.

11. PANHORMITANORVM radiate head of Augustus to left.

Rev. CN·DO·PROCV·A·LAETOR·IIVIR· capricorn, *triskeles* with winged Gorgon's head, ears of corn or barley.

London (PLATE I, 16), Copenhagen.

BMC, Sicily, p. 125, no. 45; *SNGC, Sicily*, I, Plate 12, no. 564; Imhoof-Blumer, *MG*, p. 37; Klein, *Die römischen Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 93; Macdonald, I, p. 212, 42; Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, Plate XIV, 17; Mattingly, *RC*, Plate XLVIII, 5. There are variants of the reverse legend.

12. PANORMITAN. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patra* and corn-ears.

Rev. CN·DOM·A·LA·ram to left.

Glasgow (PLATE I, 17), Munich.

Macdonald, I, p. 212, no. 44. *BMC, Sicily*, p. 125, no. 47 (PLATE I, 18) and perhaps Cambridge (Grose, I, p. 297, no. 2524) have CN·D·, Berlin PANORMITANORVM. The coin is mentioned by Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, p. 208.

13. PANORMITAN. (?) bare head of Tiberius(?) to right.

Rev. AVGVS· veiled head of Livia to right.

Glasgow (PLATE I, 19), London, Munich, Copenhagen.

Macdonald, I, p. 211, no. 41; *BMC, Sicily*, p. 125, no. 44; *SNGC, Sicily*, I, Plate 12, nos. 562 and 563. A Vienna specimen has the countermark of a tetrastyle temple. On a Gotha example the head on the obverse seems to be laureate. A variant piece represented in London (*BMC, Sicily*, p. 125, no. 43), Berlin, and perhaps Copenhagen (*SNGC, Sicily*, I, Plate

12, no. 561) had the head of Livia to left (PLATE I, 20). Newby, p. 81, no. 123, reads PANORMITANORVM; on some pieces the abbreviations may vary. Macdonald, loc. cit., implies by his classification that this piece is of Augustan date.

B. AFRICA

ACHULLA

14. . . . AESAR AVGV. . . bare head of Tiberius(?) to right.

Rev. [? DIVOS] AVG·[ACH]VLLA radiate head of Augustus to left; thunderbolt, star.

Paris (PLATE I, 21).

Not in Müller. Apparently unpublished, at least in recent centuries, except for a passing description (in which the legend and type are incompletely described) in *FITA*, p. 230. The head on the obverse might conceivably be that of Caligula rather than Tiberius. The style resembles that of Augustan pieces of Achulla, e.g. Müller, II, p. 44, 7, 9-10; *FITA*, Plate VII, 29-31. Achulla was "free" before the reorganization of Julius Caesar, and is recorded by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, V, 30) as an *opidum liberum*. But towns described in this way were often *coloniae civium Romanorum* (*FITA*, p. 226, and n. 7; Zama Regia, Thapsus, Hadrumetum, Hippo Diarrhytus), and there are special reasons for believing the same to be true of Achulla (*FITA*, pp. 230 f.).

CARTHAGE (?)

15. TI·CAESAR IMP·P·P· bare head of Tiberius to left.

Rev. L·A· FAVSTVS D·C·BASSVS IIVIR· P·P·D·D· Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

Glasgow (PLATE II, 1), London, Cambridge, Milan.

Müller, II, p. 150, no. 327; Macdonald, III, p. 600, nos. 146 f.; Nicodemi, I, p. 72, 706. For the attribution, Müller, II, p. 154; compare the similar coin of Augustus, *FITA*, p. 231. Variant with head to right, Müller, II, p. 150, no. 328.

16. TI·CAESAR IMP·P·P· bare head of Tiberius to right.

Rev. L·A· FAVSTVS D·C· BASSVS IIVIR· P·P·D·D· three corn-ears joined.

London (PLATE II, 2), Hague.

Müller, II, p. 150, no. 329.

17. TI·CAESARI AVGVSTO D·D·COL· bare head of Tiberius to left.

Rev. PACE AVG· PERP· altar-precinct (altar-wall with two doors—with no intervening panel—and two horns); all in oak-wreath.

Berlin (PLATE II, 3).

Not in Müller. This is perhaps the specimen quoted by J. Tristan, *Commentaires Historiques*, etc. (Paris, 1644), pp. 164 ff.; A. Occo, *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata* (Milan, 1683), p. 70; A. Morellius, *Thesaurus* (Amsterdam, 1752), I, pp. 592 ff. But De Meyran (Marquis de Lagoy), *Mélanges de Numismatique* (Aix, 1845), p. 2, quotes a specimen shown from his illustration at Plate II, 1, not to be the Berlin piece. Lagoy's coin, if correctly described, has the letter K· after COL· on the obverse. This led him to attribute the coin to Carthago Nova; but stylistic considerations, notably the individual style characteristic of Africa (*FITA*, p. 478), make Carthage far preferable. This exceptional piece looks medalllic; cf. official issues of the same principate which seem to warrant a similar interpretation, *RAI*, Chapter III.

HIPPO DIARRHYTUS

18. TI·CAESAR DIVI AVGVSTI F· AVGVSTVS bare head of Tiberius to right.

Rev. HIPPONE above, LIBERA below, IVL· AVG· in field. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

London (PLATE II, 4), Munich.

Müller, II, p. 167, no. 376. For Hippo Diarrhytus as a *colonia Iulia* see *FITA*, pp. 224 f.

19. Same obverse.

Rev. DRVSVS CAESAR HIPPONE LIBERA bare head of Drusus junior to right.

Copenhagen (PLATE II, 5), London (PLATE II, 6), Vienna.

Müller, II, p. 167, no. 377.

20. Same obverse legend and head; *lituus* and *simpulum*.

Rev. L·APRONIVS HIP[P]ONE LIBERA bare head of L. Apronius, *proconsul*, to right.

Hague (PLATE II, 7), Berlin (PLATE II, 8), Paris.

The reverse head is wrongly attributed to Drusus junior by Müller, II, p. 167, no. 378. For its ascription to the *proconsul* see *FITA*, p. 229, n. 1. Under Augustus also, the portraits of a number of *proconsuls* of Africa (as well as of Asia, *FITA*, p. 387) have appeared on the coinage of Roman colonies, including Hippo Diarrhytus (*FITA*, p. 224; cf. Hadrumetum, p. 228; Achulla, p. 230), as well as on what seems to be an official African issue (*FITA*, p. 139). Most of those portraits have, like the present one, been misinterpreted as representing imperial personages; e.g. in the case of Hadrumetum by Cavedoni, *Bullettino archeologico Italiano*, 1862, pp. 171 f.; Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, I, p. 312.

THAPSUS

21. TI·CAE·DIVI AVG·F·AVG·IMP·VII· bare head of Tiberius to left.

Rev. CERERI AVGVSTAE THAMPSITANI (sic). Ceres Augusta seated to right holding long torch and two corn-ears; *modius* on ground.

London (PLATE II, 9), Tunis, Vatican (?).⁴

Mentioned in *FITA*, p. 225, and n. 14, but otherwise apparently unpublished, at least within the past century.

22. Same legend; bare head of Tiberius to right.

Rev. THAPSVM IVN·AVG· veiled head of Juno Augusta (or *iuno Augustae*) to left, apparently with wreath of corn-ears.

London (PLATE III, 1), Hague, Glasgow, Milan.

Müller, II, p. 47, no. 12; Macdonald, III, p. 583, no. 1; Nicodemi, I, p. 72, no. 707; cf. *FITA*, p. 225, and n. 13.

⁴ The Curator of the Bardo Museum has kindly written confirming the Tunis specimen. The British Museum has a sulphur cast of a piece stated to be in the Vatican; but, if so, it is presumably there ascribed to another city, since Marchese Serafini writes that there is no such coin ascribed to Thapsus.

23. Same obverse.

Rev. THAPSVM IVN·AVG. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

Copenhagen (PLATE III, 2).

Müller II, p. 47, no. 13.

24. TI·CAE·DIVI AVG·F·AVG·IMP·VIII·COS·IIII bare head of Tiberius to left.

Rev. PERMISSV L·APRONI PROCOS·III·C·SEX·POM·CELSO C·P·I. Mercury wearing *petasus* and holding *caduceus*, seated to left on rock.

Hague (PLATE III, 3), Vienna (PLATE III, 4), Paris.

Misread as PROCOS·IIII by Nicodemi, I, p. 72, no. 708. This and all the following coins here assigned to Thapsus were misattributed to Clypea by Müller, II, p. 155, no. 331. For the ascription to Thapsus see *FITA*, p. 225. It is based on the following considerations. Two coins of Augustus have reverse types and stylistic traits identical to each other and to the present piece of Tiberius. One of these Augustan pieces has the legends AVGVSTVS IMP·—C·I·P· IIIIVIR· (Müller, II, p. 155, no. 330, *Supplément*, p. 56), but the other and earlier has CAESAR DIVI F·—COLONIAE IVLIAE and monograms decipherable as THAP and PI (*FITA*, p. 225, and p. 494, no. 8; cf. Merlin, *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques*, 1915, p. exciv), a circumstance which determines the attribution not only of the two Augustan pieces but also of the whole of the present series of Tiberius. For comparable variations or evolutions of ethnics during the early imperial period see coins of Buthrotum (*FITA*, p. 270), Emporiae (*ibid.*, p. 154), Cnossus (*ibid.*, p. 262), Corinth (*ibid.*, p. 266; cf. p. 226 and n. 2).

25. Same obverse.

Rev. Same reverse legend. Livia seated to right, veiled, with two corn-ears and sceptre.

Hague (PLATE IV, 2), Milan.

Müller, II, p. 155, no. 332; Nicodemi, I, p. 73.

26. DRVSO CAESARI bare head of Drusus junior to left.

Rev. PERMISSV L· APRONI· PROCOS·III· bust of Mercury to left, wearing *paenula* and *petasus*; *caduceus* behind.

Paris (PLATE III, 6), Hague.

Müller, II, p. 155, no. 333. Variant with Mercury's bust to right, now untraceable, quoted *ibid.*, p. 156, no. 334.

27. As no. 24.

Rev. PER[MIS· Q·I]VN· BLAESI PROCOS· IT· C·P· GAVIO CASCA C·P·I· as no. 25.

Hague (PLATE III, 7).

Müller's reference to a "retouched" piece of Dolabella at the Hague, without any mention of Blaesus (Müller, II, p. 156, no. 339, and n. 6), probably concerns this specimen; but if so, his doubts, at least as regards the original character of the legend, seem unjustified.

28. As no. 26.

Rev. PER BLAESI PRO CA C·P·I· as no. 26.

Hague.

Not in Müller, who wrongly reads here the legend of no. 31 (q.v.). The present description is owed to the kindness of Dr. J. H. Jongkees, of the National Collection at the Hague.⁵

29. As no. 24.

Rev. PERMIS· P· CORNELI· DOLABELLAE PROCOS· C· P· CAS· D·D· C·P·I· as no. 24.

London (PLATE IV, 1), Berlin.

Müller, II, p. 156, no. 336. Müller also quotes the following variant reverse inscriptions: PERMIS· P· DOLABELLAE PROCOS· C·P·G· CAS·D·D· C·P·I· (II, p. 156, no. 335: Copenhagen, Paris), PERMIS· P· DOLABELLAE PROCOS·C·P·GAVIO CAS· (II, p. 156, no. 337).

⁵ Perhaps a large piece with the type of no. 24 and the name of Blaesus may one day come to light, to complete a series uniform with those of Apronius and Dolabella.

30. As last.

Rev. PERMIS· P· DOLABELLAE PROCOS· C·P·G·CAS·C·

P·I· as no. 25.

London (PLATE III, 5), Paris, Hague, Copenhagen.

Müller, II, p. 156, no. 338.

31. As no. 26.

Rev. PERM· DOLABELLAE PROCOS· C·P·G·CAS· as no. 26.

Vienna (PLATE IV, 3).

Müller, II, p. 156, no. 340. For his reference to a Hague example, see above, no. 27.

C. MACEDONIA

CASSANDREA

32. DIVI(?) laureate head of Tiberius(??) to right.

Rev. [CO]L·IVL . . . [C]AS· head of Jupiter Ammon to right.

Dresden (PLATE IV, 4), Istanbul.

Apparently unpublished, except for mention in *FITA*, p. 272, n. 6. It is possible that this coin was issued at a later period than the reign of Tiberius.⁶ The end of the reverse inscription seems to be blundered.

DIUM

33. TI·CAESAR DIVI AVG·F·AVGVSTVS bare head of Tiberius to right.

Rev. COLONIA IVL·DIENSIS D·D. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

London (PLATE IV, 5).

Gaebler, p. 60, and Plate XIII, 31; *BMC, Macedon*, etc., p. 71, no. 3; Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 81; *FITA*, p. 278.

PELLA

34. TI·CAESAR AVG·F·AVGVSTVS bare head of Tiberius to right.

⁶ Professor A. R. Bellinger considers that the portrait looks Antonine.

Rev. C·BAEBIVS P·F·L·RVSTICELIVS BASTERNA IIVIR·QVINQ·D·D· in five lines.

Oxford (PLATE IV, 6), London (PLATE IV, 7), Berlin, Milan, Vienna.

As regards this and the following pieces, Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 74, no. 3, *ibid.*, Plate VII, 2, follows the tentative attribution to Dium adopted by Imhoof-Blumer, *MG*, p. 74, nos. 59 ff.; Gaebler, p. 60, nos. 3 ff.; Nicodemi, I, p. 74, no. 725; etc. The present writer, in *FITA*, p. 282, has preferred Pella, for the following reasons: (i) style, thickness and fabric; (ii) the reverse composition of the present piece and of nos. 37-39 is strongly reminiscent of Augustan coins (signed by the *quinquennales* M·FICTORI·M·SEPTVMI· and C·HERENNIVS L·TITVCIVS) convincingly assigned to Pella by Imhoof-Blumer, *MG*, p. 88, and Gaebler, p. 96; cf. *FITA*, pp. 281 f.; (iii) the type of nos. 36 and 40 below, a very unusual one, is the same as that on further pieces both of Fictorius and Septumius (*FITA*, p. 281) and of Herennius and Titucius (*ibid.*, p. 282 and 284; cf. Gaebler, p. 98, no. 27). A London specimen of no. 34 (PLATE IV, 7) has a countermark; Berlin and Vienna examples are countermarked PEL· (in the two latter cases with the addition of a *theta* or *patera*), and, as is pointed out in *FITA*, p. 282 and n. 11, it is common for such countermarks to comprise the ethnic of the very city where the coins on which they are stamped had been struck (e.g. *FITA*, p. 299, n. 12; cf. p. 246). This phenomenon is found particularly often on the coinage of Tiberius.

A variant of no. 34 (Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 74, no. 4) reads C·BAEBIO P·F·L·RVSTICELIO BASTERNA IIVIR·QVINQ·D·D·.

35. D·D· female head to right, with hair knotted behind neck.

Rev. C·BAEBIVS P·F·L·RVSTICELIVS BASTERNA IIVIR·QVINQ· in four lines.

London (PLATE IV, 8).

Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 74, no. 5; *ibid.*, Plate VII, 3. Not in Gaebler.

36. C·BAEBIVS P·F·D·D· cup without handles.

Rev. L·RVSTICELIVS BASTERNA *praefericulum* and two *strigiles*.

Berlin, Sofia.

Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 74, no. 6; Gaebler, p. 60, no. 3, Plate XIII, 31. The two Sofia specimens were found in Bulgaria.

37. TI·CAESAR AVG·F·AVGVSTVS bare head of Tiberius to right.

Rev. L·RVSTICELIVS CORDVS IIVIR QVINQ·D·D· in six lines in oak-wreath.

Cambridge (PLATE IV, 9), London, Paris.

Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 74, no. 8; cf. FITA, p. 282. A Paris specimen is countermarked (*theta* or *patera*?). A variant has the reverse legend in five lines: Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 75, nos. 8 f.; Nicodemi, p. 74, 724. CESAR (sic) for CAESAR: Gaebler, *ZfN*, 1926, p. 134, no. 23.

38. PIETAS bust of Pietas to right, draped, diademed and veiled.

Rev. As last but no oak-wreath.

London (PLATE IV, 10), Hague.

Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 75, no. 10; *ibid.*, Plate VII, 6; Gaebler, p. 60, 4, Plate XIII, 29.

39. PIETAS AVGVSTA bust of Pietas to right, with diadem ornamented with palmettes.

Rev. As last.

Paris, Berlin, Leningrad, Munich, Belgrade.

Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 75, no. 11; Gaebler, p. 61, 5, Plate XIII, 30; *ibid.*, *ZfN*, 1926, p. 134, 25; *ibid.*, Plate X, 16 (obverse).

40. *Praefericulum* and two *strigiles*.

Rev. As last.

Budapest (PLATE IV, 11).

Not in Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 73 ff., or Gaebler, and apparently unpublished.

D. EPIRUS AND ACHAIA

DYRRHACHIUM

41. TI·CAE·C·I·A·D· laureate head of Tiberius to right, countermark.

Rev. AVG·C·I·A·D· radiate head of Augustus to right.

London (PLATE V, 1), Athens.

Not in any *BMC*. Variants: (obv.) TI·CAE·C·I·A·D·, Imhoof-Blumer, *MG*, p. 165, 47; (obv.) TI·CA·C·I·A·D· (*FITA*, Plate VIII, 26) and (rev.) AVGV·, Paris (PLATE V, 3); (obv.) TI·CA·T·I·A·S· (sic), Berlin (PLATE V, 2); (rev.) AVG·P·P·, Vienna. The Athens specimen suggests that the countermark is a prow. These pieces have been attributed to Dium (London; British Museum Cabinet), Dyme (British Museum [also], Paris, Vienna), and even Dertosa (Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, I, p. 47; Hübner, *Monumenta Linguae Ibericae*, p. 38; Newby, p. 83). In *FITA*, p. 278, an endeavour is made to refute these attributions—of which the last-mentioned at least is impracticable on grounds of style—and to group the issue instead with two pieces of Augustus ascribed to Dyrrhachium, which closely resemble it in portraiture. These are: (1) bare head of Augustus to right—CI·VE·TI·TAR·IIVIR· Q D·D· in field (Gotha, London, *FITA*, p. 276; *ibid.*, Plate VIII, 23), (2) CAESAR AVGVSTVS bare head of Augustus to right—plough, and legend conjecturally restored as C(oloniae) V(eneriae) R(estitutori) M·IVS(tuleius?) M·HERENNIVS IIVIR(i) QVINQ(uennales) C(oloniae) I(uliae) A(ugustae) D(yrrhachensium): Vatican, *FITA*, pp. 277, 279; *ibid.*, Plate VIII, 24). For Venus as the protectress of Dyrrhachium, see *FITA*, pp. 275, 277. (For the history of the colony, Sestieri, *Epigraphica*, IV, 1942, pp. 127 ff.) Dium was still COLONIA IVLIA DIENSIS (i.e. not yet C·I·A·D·) by the time of Tiberius (see no. 33). At Dyme, on the other hand, the *colonia* had indeed been C·I·A·D· for a short time, but it had then apparently failed during the lifetime of Augustus, who had allotted its lands to his new foundation at Patrae (Pausanias, VII, 17; cf. Dorsch, *De Civitatis Romanae apud Graecos Propagatione*, Diss: Breslau, 1886, p. 19; *FITA*, p. 265).

CORINTH

42. L·ARRIO PEREGRINO IIVIR· radiate head of Augustus to left.

Rev. L·FVRIO LABEONE IIVIR·COR· hexastyle temple inscribed GENT·IVLI.

London, Paris.

Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 19, no. 40; Earle Fox, *JIAN*, 1899, p. 104, no. 5; *BMC, Corinth*, etc., p. 63, no. 520; Nicodemi, I, p. 55, 551. Edwards and *BMC* wrongly describe the head as Tiberius. Variant with names of *duoviri* reversed, *BMC, Corinth*, etc., p. 64, no. 522 (PLATE V, 4); ditto, with name of Peregrinus in nominative, Paris cf. Earle Fox, loc. cit. For the foundation of the colony shortly before or after the death of Julius see *FITA*, p. 266.

43. Legends as no. 42. Draped bust of Livia to left with hair notted behind neck.

Rev. As last.

Copenhagen, London.

BMC, Corinth, etc., p. 63, no. 515; Earle Fox, *JIAN*, 1899, p. 104, no. 6. Variant with bust to right, *BMC, Corinth*, etc., p. 63, no. 514 (PLATE V, 6); Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 20, no. 41. With bust to left and names of *duoviri* reversed, Copenhagen (PLATE V, 5), London, Earle Fox, loc. cit.

44. Same legends as no. 42. Laureate head of Tiberius to left.

Rev. As last.

London (PLATE V, 7), Copenhagen, Cambridge.

BMC, Corinth, etc., p. 63, no. 518; Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 20, no. 43; Earle Fox, *JIAN*, 1899, p. 104, no. 28. Variants with names of *duoviri* reversed, *BMC, Corinth*, etc., p. 64, no. 521, and with L·ARRIO PEREGRINO IIVIR· on both sides, Earle Fox, loc. cit. (his own collection).

45. L·FVRIO LABEONE IIVIR· bust of Livia to right, veiled, with *stephane*.

Rev. L·ARRIO PEREGRINO IIVIR·COR· hexastyle temple inscribed GENT·IVLI.

Cambridge (PLATE V, 8), London.

BMC, Corinth, etc., p. 63, no. 517; Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 20, no. 2; Earle Fox, *JIAN*, 1899, p. 104, no. 27.

46. P· CANINIO AGRIPPA II VIR· QVINQ· bare head of Drusus junior(?) to right.

Rev. L· CASTRICIO REGVLO II VIR· QVIN· COR. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

London (PLATE V, 9).

Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 20, no. 44, cf. pp. 6 f. (attributing to A.D. 22-23 and—following Earle Fox, *JIAN*, 1899, p. 105, no. 29, and Muensterberg, *NZ*, 1911, p. 121—to Drusus, whose coin-portraits this resembles), *BMC*, *Corinth*, etc., p. 64, no. 523, cf. Neumann, *De Quinquennialibus Coloniarum et Municipiorum*, Diss: Leipzig, 1892, pp. 37 f. Also with names of *duoviri* reversed, Earle Fox, loc. cit. (his collection). With P· CANINIO AGRIPPA II VIR· QVINQ· on both sides, *ibid.* (Paris), cf. Muensterberg, loc. cit.: in a manuscript addition to the Vienna Cabinet's copy of his work Muensterberg added a query and an exclamation mark to this restoration of the reverse legend, but such a repetition of the name of a single *duovir* is paralleled on the coins of at least two other colleges, cf. Earle Fox, op. cit., p. 94.

47. Busts of two youths facing each other.

Rev. COR. Pegasus flying to right.

London, Milan.

The busts are identified as Nero and Drusus, the sons of Germanicus, by Nicodemi, I, p. 34, n.; cf. *FITA*, p. 268, n. 13; *ibid.*, Plate IX, 13. *BMC*, *Corinth*, etc., p. 62, no. 508, attributes the heads to Gaius and Lucius. Our judgment on these identifications must be reserved, but on iconographical grounds it seems not improbable that the coin is of Tiberian rather than Augustan date. It is not quoted by Edwards, *Corinth*, VI.

E. EASTERN PROVINCES

CNOSSUS⁷

48. TI·CAES·AVGVS· bare head of Tiberius to left.

Rev. FVSCO ET MAXIMO II VIR· in four lines in field.

Vienna (PLATE V, 10), Berlin, Istanbul.

⁷ For coins of doubtful date with the names of M. AEMILIUS, LABEO, POLLIO and TI. CAESAR II VIR. (PLATE VIII, 1-4), see Appendix 1.

49. MAXIMO IIVIR· DIVOS AVG· bare head of Augustus to left.

Rev. FVSCO IIVIR· IVLIA AVGV·S·D·D. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

Writer's collection (PLATE V, 11), London (PLATE V, 12), Vienna, Athens. See also Addenda.

Svoronos has rightly placed the Athens piece in the Cretan section of that collection. The Istanbul specimen is recorded as having been acquired in a bag with 20 other Cretan coins. The present writer's example was acquired in Athens, and almost certainly found somewhere on Greek territory. Imhoof-Blumer, *MG*, p. 140, in describing no. 48 only, points out its incompatibility with the issues of Buthrotum, with which it is classified in the Vienna Cabinet and by Muensterberg, *NZ*, 1911, p. 110 (on the inadequate grounds of a common Fuscus: L. Ateius Fuscus appears at Buthrotum, inadvertently omitted by *FITA*, p. 269). The Vienna specimen of no. 49 used to be placed with "uncertain Spanish." Muensterberg, in his manuscript addition to the Vienna Cabinet's copy of his work just cited, suggests Utica; but this is only because of Müller's erroneous ascription to that city of the piece which will next be discussed, which Muensterberg, rightly in the present writer's opinion, regarded as a product of the same mint as the FVSCO-MAXIMO pieces.

50. TI· CAESAR AVG· bare head of Tiberius to left.

Rev. C·APRO·NE· above, and IIVIR· below, D·D·P·Q· in field.

London (PLATE V, 13), Copenhagen.

Misread by Müller, II, pp. 162, 373. As stated in connection with no. 49, Muensterberg is probably right in associating this issue with the foregoing coins; it especially resembles no. 48. Müller attributes the present specimen to Utica, but it shows no close similarity to any issue of that city and the style is not African. Müller may have been influenced in his attribution by the *nomen* Apronius, cf. the proconsul L. Apronius (nos. 20, 24 ff.); but the name is not rare enough for this point to carry any weight.

51. IVLIA AVGV· bare head of Livia to right, with hair knotted behind neck.

Rev. As last.

Berlin (PLATE V, 14).

Apparently unpublished.

ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA

52. [TI·CAES(AR?)DI]VI AVG·F·AVGVST·IMP·VIII· bare head of Tiberius to left.

Rev. C·C. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

London (PLATE V, 15).

Hill, *NC*, 1914, p. 303, 12, and *ibid.*, Plate XIX, 8. For the attribution of the ethnic, *FITA*, p. 250. Pisidian Antioch's exceptional colonial epithet *Caesarea*—not paralleled at Sinope, *ibid.*, p. 253, pace Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, p. 1007, etc.—is recorded on the only two Augustan mintages that can at present be attributed to this city: these read COL·CAES· (*BM*, Berlin, Vienna: *FITA*, Plate IX, 5) and PARENS CAESAREA COL· (Berlin, cf. *NC*, 1914, p. 299, 40; *FITA*, Plate VIII, 12). In *FITA*, p. 251, it is suggested that the title *Parens* refers to the seniority of Antioch, as of Lystra, *vis-à-vis* the other colonies of the province, but the latter cities may not have been founded at the time of issue and the word probably refers rather to Augustus; cf. at Gades, Agrippa MVNICIPI PARENS (*FITA*, p. 171). For the foundation of the colonies see further *RAI*, Chapter V, sections i and iv.

SINOPE

53. DRVSO CAESARI bare head of Drusus junior to right.

Rev. EX D·D· C·I·F·AN·LXIII· in four lines in oak (?)-wreath.

Cambridge (from the writer's collection) (PLATE V, 16).

Apparently unpublished and unknown. Acquired in Istanbul and believed to have been found in Turkey. For the attribution of the ethnic *C(olonia) I(ulia) F(elix)* see *FITA*, p. 253: some pieces of Augustus have C·F·I·SI· (*RGMG*, I², 1, p. 201, no. 76a) and probably also C·I·F·S· (Forrer, *RB*, 1900, p. 288). For the date AN·LXIII· (A.D. 19-20), see *FITA*, p. 253, n. 3. Although Kubitschek, *NZ*, 1908, p. 68, is wrong in completely restricting this type of chronography to coins of Sinope—

it appears not only at Viminacium in the third century (Head, p. 273), but also on a second century coin of Parium, *FITA*, p. 253, n. 2, correcting *RGMG*, I, p. 200—his observation appears to be true as regards the first centuries B.C. and A.D.

(ii) The Character of the Coinage

A. METROLOGY

Like many other aspects of this coinage, its composition, weights and denominations raise problems that are difficult and indeed at present insoluble. As regards composition, a number of spectrographic tests⁸ of these non-Spanish issues has so far recorded no abandonment of the Augustan practice according to which—either through conservatism or imperial monopoly⁹—such coinages, unlike main official issues which were of *orichalcum* and copper, remained of bronze.¹⁰ Strong, or fairly strong, lead and tin alloys still occur at Panormus(?) (no. 10: cf. Plate I, 15),¹¹ Cnossus (no. 49: cf. Plate V, 12),¹² and Sinope (no. 53: Plate V, 16),¹³ as at Corinth under Caligula.¹⁴ In the last case the proportion of neither metal exceeds ten per cent,¹⁵ and at *municipium* Utica under Tiberius (cf. Plate VIII, 8-9)¹⁶ the admixture was perhaps smaller still.¹⁷ Carthage(?) (no. 15: cf. Plate II, 1)¹⁸ and Thapsus (no. 30: cf. Plate III, 5)¹⁹ show a preponderance of lead over tin—in the latter

⁸ See Appendix 3.

⁹ Cf. Caley, p. 149.

¹⁰ *FITA*, p. 300 and n. 2.

¹¹ *FITA*, p. 493, no. 48.

¹² A tin, B lead.

¹³ B tin, B lead.

¹⁴ Caley, p. 63.

¹⁵ 8.39% tin, 7% lead: Caley, p. 63. Id., pp. 69 f., quotes Strabo VIII, 381, as evidence for the view that Corinth's coinage was made of melted-down statues.

¹⁶ See Appendix 2.

¹⁷ *FITA*, p. 493, nos. 55 and 56.

¹⁸ D tin, A lead.

¹⁹ E tin, A lead.

case the amount of tin is negligible²⁰—that is characteristic of city issues since the Hellenistic period.²¹

Contrasts to these findings are apparent in Spain. It is true that some, if not all, Tiberian coins of Turiaso, Saguntum and Caesar Augusta (cf. Plate VI, 1) again show fairly strong lead and tin alloys.²² At Tarraco,²³ however, as at Paestum,²⁴ there is sometimes no lead or virtually none, but a considerable quantity of the much more expensive constituent tin. Elsewhere, marked deviations occur even within the series of a single Spanish city. At Romula, for example, whereas one Tiberian piece (cf. Plate VII, 6)²⁵ contains a little lead as well as tin,²⁶ a smaller specimen of the same reign (cf. Plate VII, 5) is actually (accidental impurities apart) of pure copper.²⁷ At Ilici the same distinction occurs, again under Tiberius, in two different coins of the same size (cf. Plate VI, 6,²⁸ bronze;²⁹ and 7,³⁰ copper). Carthago Nova is a third Spanish mint³¹ to issue coins of pure copper³² in the same principate.

For the initiative of these three Roman cities in using pure copper we know of a few precedents at Greek cities (notably Olbia³³). No such phenomenon has so far been traced in any city coinage under Augustus; but it would be premature to say that Augustan precedents do not exist, for there are many issues of which no analyses have yet been made. All that can be said is that the practice of

²⁰ See Appendix 3.

²¹ Cf. Caley, pp. 114, 125, 139, 172, 189.

²² B tin, B lead.

²³ B tin.

²⁴ *FITA*, p. 493, no. 69.

²⁵ Vives, IV, p. 124, no. 3.

²⁶ B tin, C lead.

²⁷ Vives, IV, p. 124, no. 2—spectograph.

²⁸ Vives, IV, p. 42, no. 10.

²⁹ B tin, C lead.

³⁰ Vives, IV, p. 41, no. 6—spectograph.

³¹ Vives, IV, p. 37, no. 41.

³² E tin—negligible, cf. Appendix 3.

³³ Caley, pp. 83, 109, Table XVI.

occasionally issuing colonial coinage in the official metal of pure copper was in existence, even if it did not originate, under Tiberius. This tendency, whether at the time it had any conscious purpose or not, points ahead to the date, not far distant, when the Western local coinages would give way altogether to the imperial system.

The complement to copper in the official coinage, namely *orichalcum*, has not yet been identified by the present writer in any mintage of a Roman city under either Augustus or Tiberius. It is, however, attributed to Caesaraugustan coinage of the latter *princeps* (Plate VI, 2) by Zobel y Zangroniz.³⁴ As regarded peregrine issues, there is a possible Tiberian instance of *orichalcum* at Tomi,³⁵ and perhaps also at Panormus just before its colonisation.³⁶ These precedents were followed by Caligula and Claudius, under whom local *orichalcum* coinages occur at Smyrna³⁷ and perhaps Aezanis³⁸ respectively, as well, probably, as at other cities; similar instances, though never apparently frequent, occur in the third century.³⁹ Caley ascribes such deviations from the ordinary bronze alloy to the use for coinage—regardless of composition—of melted down *aes* pieces, which in this case would have been Roman *orichalcum*.⁴⁰ This explanation can hardly apply in full to the Julio-Claudian period, when there would not yet have been time to melt down many coins in this recently originated alloy; but it is quite possible that the cities melted down other objects for conversion into their coinage,⁴¹ and in so doing they may have disregarded the composition of those objects. For this reason, and because of the incompleteness

³⁴ *Memorial Numismático Español*, V, 1880, p. 123; cf. *FITA*, p. 300, n. 2: = Vives, IV, p. 83, no. 59.

³⁵ B zinc, E tin, C lead. But on the zinc see Appendix 3.

³⁶ *FITA*, pp. 198, 493, no. 43 (misprinted as 44 on p. 198, n. 4).

³⁷ *FITA*, p. 493, no. 63.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 57.

³⁹ E.g. of Elagabalus at Nicaea: Caley, p. 90; cf. a coin of Hadrian at Alexandria, *ibid.*, p. 91, 102.

⁴⁰ P. 191; cf. p. 149.

⁴¹ Cf. Caley, pp. 69 f.

of analyses, it cannot confidently be stated that the Roman cities under Tiberius consciously varied the constituents of their coinage from Augustan practice.

As regards the second metrological factor, that of weights, again no indications of a new policy, after the accession of Tiberius, are detectable. Among such a varied collection of weights and sizes it would be hopeless to endeavour to find a norm; but, according to one reconstruction, the colonial issues of Tiberius (in Spain as well as outside it), seem to be based on a bronze *as* of c. 235 to c. 160 grains.⁴² At first sight this suggests greater consistency than had prevailed in the principate of Augustus, when the Roman towns had used a bewildering variety of weight-standards: their *asses* had apparently fluctuated from c. 350 to c. 80 grains, "and even at neighbouring Spanish cities, or on consecutive issues of the same mint, there is no attempt at uniformity."⁴³ But this apparent distinction between Augustus and Tiberius is based on the whole of the former's reign, and does not take into consideration the possibility that, during its lengthy course, the practice later favoured by Tiberius had already been reached. Such a comparison is therefore confusing; and throughout the present section the practice of Tiberius will instead be compared—as seems historically more profitable—with only the final period of the principate of Augustus:⁴⁴ namely his last sixteen years (2 B.C.—A.D. 14).⁴⁵ A glance at the colonial coinage during this period quickly shows that any tightening of standard perceptible under Tiberius may equally be attributed to the last years of Augustus: for among the colonial coinages of that period we already find no clear traces of the heaviest and lightest *asses* of the early Augustan period.⁴⁶ It must be

⁴² See Appendix 4.

⁴³ *FITA*, p. 300.

⁴⁴ Cf. also Appendices 2, 4 and 5.

⁴⁵ This forms a convenient point of departure, since the title *pater patriae*, assumed in 2 B.C., appears on a very large proportion of all colonial coinage from that time onwards, and portraiture changes (cf. *NC*, 1949, in press).

⁴⁶ See Appendix 4.

stressed, however, that any conclusions based on metrological considerations can, as regards colonial coinages, only be conjectural.

B. OCCASIONS OF ISSUE

As regards occasions of issue, we are on equally uncertain ground, and indeed here on more uncertain ground than we were under Augustus. A large number of Roman cities had owed their Augustan issues to a *deductio* or *constitutio* or *restitutio*. Naturally a foundation that has occurred under Augustus could not occur again (except as a *restitutio*) under the second *princeps*; but the very scanty evidence at our disposal does not support the view of Dessau⁴⁷ and Scramuzza⁴⁸ that such foundations were suspended during his principate.⁴⁹ On the contrary the evidence regarding foundations such as Emona⁵⁰ and Tifernum⁵¹ suggests that Tiberius founded colonies (as well, perhaps, as *municipia* such as Cambodunum⁵²) no less frequently—and perhaps more frequently—than had Augustus during the last sixteen years of his life.⁵³ No. 10 (Plate I, 15) has tentatively been identified as a Tiberian foundation coinage of *colonia* Panormus; others are hard to identify, but, even if they are few and far between, this paucity does not necessarily prove that Tiberius was stricter than Augustus in sanctioning them. The cause of monetary infrequency might instead lie rather in the geographical situation of the foundations of the second *princeps*: for most of the probable or possible examples of such foundations were located in provinces such as Illyricum and Pannonia, where colonial and mu-

⁴⁷ *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, II, 1, p. 90. Cf. for a similar argument regarding the coinage of *municipia*, Appendix 2.

⁴⁸ *EC*, p. 279, n. 26.

⁴⁹ The evidence is discussed in Appendix 5.

⁵⁰ Saria, *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, II, 10, 1938; cf. *CIL*, III, 10768.

⁵¹ *Liber Coloniarum* = *Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, p. 224, cf. Ciaceri, *Tiberio Successore di Augusto*, p. 218.

⁵² Stade, *CAH*, XI, pp. 531 f.

⁵³ This period is used throughout the present section for purposes of comparison (see last subsection; cf. also Appendices 2, 4 and 5).

municipal coinage does not in any case occur either in this or in any other principate.

Another of the main features of colonial and municipal coinage under Augustus had been the jubilee-issue. This category comprises mintages signalling the twenty-fifth, fiftieth, hundredth and other anniversaries of the *deductio*, *constitutio* or *restitutio* of the minting city.⁵⁴ This custom, unlike that of foundation coinage, shows no sign of waning before the death of Augustus: for six of the eight issues tentatively ascribed to this category⁵⁵ fall within the last *decennium* of his principate. An examination of the issues of Tiberius warrants the suggestion that, as one might expect, certain cities maintained the same practice in his reign. The evidence is again intractable, but it seems not improbable that our no. 52 of Antioch in Pisidia (Plate V, 15), among others, may be ascribed to a local half-centenary occasion; and that the same applies to a Tiberian issue of the Spanish *municipium* of Dertosa (Plate VI, 5).⁵⁶ It also appears likely that the single issue of Sinope (Plate V, 16), dated to A.D. 19-20 and isolated in a long gap between issues under Augustus⁵⁷ and Caligula,⁵⁸ celebrates—like other coinages⁵⁹—the imperial half-centenaries of Actium and Egypt (31-30 B.C.). The evidence is not sufficient to determine whether policy regarding local anniversary issues developed in any way *within* the principate of Tiberius.

Likewise we cannot tell whether any colonial and municipal issues are attributable to his accession⁶⁰ or to its *decennium* or *vicen-*

⁵⁴ Dyrrhachium, Cnossus, Patrae(?), Uselis, Cirta(??), Carthage(?), Lugdunum(?), Lystra; for summary see *FITA*, p. 295.

At least one peregrine city (Leptis Minor) follows a similar practice; cf. *ibid.*, p. 338. There are probably other cases.

⁵⁵ All except Dyrrhachium and Cnossus.

⁵⁶ For a discussion of the evidence see Appendix 6.

⁵⁷ *FITA*, p. 253, n. 3.

⁵⁸ *BMC*, Pontus, etc., p. 101, no. 55. See also Addenda.

⁵⁹ See below, Chapter II, section ii, subsection A, and *RAI*, Chapter III, section iii.

⁶⁰ It is tempting, on iconographical and other grounds, to ascribe to this occasion issues of the Spanish *coloniae* Acci, Saguntum and Tarraco and *municipia* Calagurris and Utica.

nium. These were all occasions which had prompted extensive official mintages,⁶¹ and the accession appears to have inspired peregrine issues also;⁶² it is quite likely, therefore, that our issue of Thapsus with the date IMP· VII· (A.D. 14-18) (no. 21: Plate II, 9) belongs to the same occasion.

In general, as far as the obscurity of our evidence enables any conclusions whatever to be drawn, it seems that the Roman cities probably coined both for local and for imperial anniversaries to much the same extent, and with much the same balance of emphasis between the same categories, as they had in the later years of Augustus.⁶³

C. SIGNATORIES AND FORMULAS

The conclusion reached in the last subsection applies equally to the signatories and formulas that appear on these coinages; for they follow much the same practice as had been characteristic of the principate of Augustus. Prominent among signatories is L. Cael. Clem. *IIvir* at Paestum (no. 7-8: Plate I, 11-14). His type is the *apex*, which symbolises the flaminiate:⁶⁴ for this *duovir* is the colonial *flamen Ti. Caesaris Augusti*. Similar officials are found on inscriptions;⁶⁵ and other inscriptions tell of cults of the *genius*⁶⁶ and *numen*⁶⁷ of the second *princeps*.⁶⁸ *Flamines* of Germanicus and Livia occur at Olisipo.⁶⁹ But *Flamines* of Augustus, too, had oc-

⁶¹ See *RAI*, Chapter III.

⁶² *FITA*, pp. 330 ff.

⁶³ Celebrations of anniversaries on colonial coinages did not cease with Tiberius. The present writer suggests in *NC*, 1948, pp. 117, 125, that two pieces of Caligula's reign should be ascribed to this category. For later emperors see *RAI*, Chapters IV and V.

⁶⁴ Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*², p. 499, and nn. 5, 6.

⁶⁵ E.g., *ILS*, 6481 (Venusia), cf. Nock, *CAH*, p. 493, Beurlier, *Essai sur le Culte Rendu aux Empereurs Romains*, p. 169.

⁶⁶ *ILS*, 6080, cf. 116, etc.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 158 (and of senate), cf. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 34.

⁶⁸ Cf. also a *sexvir Augustalis et Tiberialis* at Asculum, *ILS*, 6565.

⁶⁹ *ILS*, 6896. Cf. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 34, *id.*, *RIS*, p. 159.

curred in his lifetime. This particularly applies to the last period of his principate, in which we find M. Paccius Maximus, *duovir* at Halaesa, likewise described as *Flamen* on a coin of that city,⁷⁰ like other officials recorded by inscriptions.⁷¹

L. Cael. Clem. is only one of a considerable number of city-magistrates who are signatories of our coins. Altogether at least twenty-six names appear.⁷² Their titles reveal certain tendencies that had not been so apparent under Augustus. None of these names are of *praefecti* representing the *princeps* or members of his family. The only princely *duovir*, Ti. Gemellus at Paestum (no. 8: Plate I, 12-14), is not, as far as the legend reveals, represented by a *praefectus*; and he is placed second to his colleague L. Cael. Clem. Earlier in the reign, as under Augustus,⁷³ *praefecti* representing the younger princes had occurred elsewhere.⁷⁴ The Paestan issue seems to reflect a tendency to discourage the practice; but other instances of it occur at least as late as A.D. 34,⁷⁵ though possibly not thereafter. Thus its final abandonment might be due to Tiberius. But it might also date from the principate of Caligula,⁷⁶ and from his unwilling-

⁷⁰ *FITA*, p. 195; cf. perhaps Cn. Statil. Libo *praef. sacerdos* (ibid., p. 163 and n. 1), but Rivero, *Madrid Catalogue*, p. 24, considers him to be of Julius; on this coin see now A. Beltran, *AEA*, 1947, pp. 137 ff. P. Vibius Sac. *Caes.* at Parium (*FITA*, p. 249) may be a priest of Julius.

⁷¹ See, e.g., Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, pp. 32, 34; *ILS*, III, 1, p. 572, etc. *Flamines Augusti* are mainly found in Italy from c. 2 B.C.; cf. Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 487.

⁷² These names would repay investigation from a prosopographical viewpoint, a task which will not be attempted here. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, pp. 79 ff., has made a start by his study of the Baebii and Rusticellii at Pella (nos. 34 ff.). Salasi. at Panormus (no. 10) recalls Salassus *Comitalis* at Agrigentum under Augustus, *FITA*, p. 196, cf. n. 12. For Fadii and Fusci see recently *PIR*², III, p. 115, nos. 97 ff.; p. 234, nos. 599 ff. (for a late Republican Fadius at Paestum, *FITA*, p. 202).

⁷³ *FITA*, p. 508 (references).

⁷⁴ E.g. at Saloniae for Drusus junior and P. Cornelius Dolabella, Betz, *JAIW*, 1943, *Beiblatt*, pp. 131 ff.; for Nero and Drusus, Abaecherli Boyce, *NNM*, 109, 1947, p. 24; cf. perhaps at Utica, see Appendix 2.

⁷⁵ *ILS*, 639 f. (Pompeii, Caligula), Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, p. 303, n. 64; Kornemann, *RE*, XVI, 623. Of about the same date is a coin of Caesaraugusta likewise showing a *praefectus* of the young Caligula, Vives, IV, p. 82, no. 54 f.; but no *praefectus* of him is recorded at Carthago Nova (Plate VI, 3).

⁷⁶ But the emperors themselves continued to be represented by *praefecti* at least until the second century: e.g. *ILS*, 6662, cf. Betz, *JAIW*, 1943, *Beiblatt*, p. 130, n. 17.

ness to allow similar honours to his short-lived "heir" Ti. Gemellus.⁷⁷

At all events such *praefecturae* for princes seem to have been discouraged by Tiberius. This discouragement, serving to avoid emphasis on a "royal family," may well have been intended as a conservative rather than as an autocratic measure; but it none the less constituted a restriction of the Roman cities' initiative, if only of their initiative to flatter. Whether in this case Tiberius or Caligula was responsible, there is certain other evidence, not only of a numismatic kind, suggesting that Tiberius pursued a policy of gradual encroachment on the Roman cities. It is true that a joint protest of Italian cities about a Tiber regulation scheme still influenced the government.⁷⁸ But they were deprived of the profits of local taxation;⁷⁹ garrisons in Italy (where so large a proportion of these cities were) were increased in number;⁸⁰ and the cities were now, if not earlier, called upon to provide supplies to the *princeps* when he travelled.⁸¹ Other restrictions too have been conjectured,⁸² and they are possible enough for a man who, like Tiberius, hated the Italian colonies and *municipia* in later life.⁸³ But whether this influenced his attitude or not, there was nothing new in this policy: Augustus had followed precisely the same programme of

⁷⁷ On this phase see von Premerstein, p. 66, and *Mitteilungen aus den Papyrussammlungen der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek*, V, 1939; Collart, *RPh*, 1941, p. 58; Ensslin, *Gnomon*, 1943, p. 169.

⁷⁸ Tac., *Ann.*, I, 79, cf. Marsh, p. 125.

⁷⁹ Suet., *Tib.*, 49; cf. Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, p. 147; Rogers, p. 244, n. 106; *FITA*, p. 203, n. 13.

⁸⁰ Suet., *Tib.*, 37.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁸² E.g. waning of local *comitia* (Sebastian, *De Patronis Coloniarum atque Municipiorum Romanorum*, Diss: Halle, 1884, p. 46), discouragement of local foundation committees (*FITA*, p. 285), diminutions of rights of certain city quaestors (Mantey, *De Gradu et Statu Quaestorum in Municipiis Colonisque*, Diss: Halle, 1882, p. 9), abolition of decurional votes by proxy (Jullian, *Les Transformations Politiques de l'Italie sous les Empereurs Romains*, p. 34); moreover, in Gaul in particular, certain losses of rights by peregrine communities (Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, IV, pp. 155, n. 3, 286, 337, 389, n. 1) may have involved curtailments of the independence of Roman cities also. There is no unqualified numismatic evidence for the repression or assimilation of *municipia* as such: see Appendix 2.

⁸³ Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 67 (A.D. 27): *perosus . . . municipia et colonias omniaque in continenti sita*.

gradual encroachment.⁸⁴ In particular, Augustus had used a variety of indirect methods to this end; and Tiberius did the same. For example, his predecessor had "made personal gifts to the colonies an excuse for legislation regarding their maintenance";⁸⁵ and we find Tiberius, imitated in this by his son Drusus junior,⁸⁶ following suit.⁸⁷ Road-building, too, in which Tiberius was active⁸⁸ (if not always quite active enough⁸⁹), recalls the use of this very method by Augustus as a means of influencing local communities.⁹⁰

These are all matters in which Tiberius was continuing an Augustan policy or carrying it to its logical conclusion. At first sight, however, our coinage might seem to present a more original feature, in the diminished part played by *duoviri quinquennales*. Their names had frequently appeared on issues of the preceding principate. Our present series, however, only shows three such colleges—C. Baebius P.f. and L. Rusticelius Basterna at Pella (nos. 34-36: Plate IV, 6-8), L. Rusticelius Cordus (with no mention of his colleague) at the same city (nos. 37-40: Plate IV, 9-11), and P. Caninius Agrippa and L. Castricius Regulus at Corinth (no. 46: Plate V, 9).⁹¹

One reason for this diminution, as far as these non-Spanish issues are concerned, might be supplied by Tiberius' far smaller reliance than his predecessor on these coinages for practical augmentation of monetary output.⁹² At least in the earlier part of the principate of Augustus it had been the practice for many colonies, of which

⁸⁴ *FITA*, pp. 317 ff.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

⁸⁶ *CIL*, V, 6358 (Laus Pompeia), cf. Frank, *ESAR*, V, p. 95; Rogers, p. 136.

⁸⁷ E.g. *CIL*, V, 2149 (Altinum), cf. Frank, *ESAR*, V, p. 101; *NS*, 1907, pp. 658 f. (Lanuvium); *ILS*, 114 (Brixia), cf. Frank, *op. cit.*, p. 97; cf. the *Tiberia Platea* at Antioch in Pisidia, Robinson, *AJA*, 1924, pp. 438 ff. Smith, p. 212, n. 126.

⁸⁸ E.g. in the Illyrian provinces (Last, *JRS*, 1943, p. 104, etc.); Gaul (Smith, p. 212, n. 6, etc.); Spain (Sickle, *CP*, 1929, p. 77; Sutherland, *RIS*, p. 171 and n. 6; van Nostrand, *ESAR*, III, p. 34; Rogers, p. 211, n. 110); Africa (Marsh, p. 148; Haywood, *ESAR*, IV, p. 34), etc. etc. Colonies were less affected by road-building in Syria and Egypt (Smith, p. 212, nn. 118, 119).

⁸⁹ Cf. Balsdon, p. 148; Scramuzza, *EC*, p. 271, n. 57.

⁹⁰ *FITA*, p. 322.

⁹¹ Nero and Drusus may be recorded in the same capacity at Utica: see Appendix 2.

⁹² See below, subsection D.

the issues fulfilled such purposes, to coin at the conclusion of their *lustra*.⁹³ Now, however, the occasions for colonial coinage,⁹⁴ less regular as this had become, coincide less often with local *quinquennia*.⁹⁵ But this cannot be the whole story; for in Spain, too, where colonial coinage continued to contribute materially to the imperial monetary system, the recorded proportion of *quinquennales* to *duoviri* is likewise smaller in the principate of Tiberius than (if we take it as a whole) in the principate of Augustus. Did Tiberius, then, restrict the powers which the *quinquennales* had possessed over local finance?⁹⁶ If we look into the matter more closely, it appears that no such view is warranted by the numismatic evidence. For the last decade or two of Augustus can only show a single quinquennialian college on a non-Spanish coin (and that a doubtful one⁹⁷), and only one more within the peninsula.⁹⁸ So it is clear that the impression gained by contrasting the two principates as a whole would be misleading. For if, adopting a procedure that is followed more than once in the present work,⁹⁹ we compare the practice of Tiberius not with the whole principate of Augustus, but with the last part of the latter's reign, we find that there is no change: the diminution in the numismatic record of *quinquennales*, noted under Tiberius, had already begun under his predecessor.

Again, in the time of Tiberius, as in the time of Augustus, local formulae still greatly exceed official ones on the colonial issues. At Paestum itself we find P[AE](*sti*) S(*ignatum*) alongside S·C· (nos. 1, etc.: Plate I, 1); and elsewhere are D(*ecreto*) D(*ecurionum*) (nos.

⁹³ *FITA*, p. 162. Ibid., p. 283, it is quite wrong to consider coins with the names of *quinquennales* as peculiarly characteristic of Carthago Nova, as does Heiss, *Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne*, p. 274.

⁹⁴ On these see above, subsection B.

⁹⁵ It was only in the troubled years of the end of the Republic that local *lustra* had been celebrated irregularly; cf. *FITA*, pp. 164 and n. 4, 311, 159.

⁹⁶ Cf. Hardy, *Six Roman Laws*, p. 148; *FITA*, p. 270, n. 14.

⁹⁷ See Appendix 1 (Cnossus).

⁹⁸ Emporiae and Carthago Nova.

⁹⁹ Cf. above, subsections A and B; below, subsection D, and Appendices 2, 4 and 5.

17, 29, 33-40, 49: Plate II, 3, IV, 1, 5-11, V, 11), P(*ecunia*) P(*ublica*) D(*ecreto*) D(*ecurionum*) (nos. 15-16: Plate II, 1-2), D(*ecreto*) D(*ecurionum*) P(*opuli*) Q(*ue*) (nos. 50-51: Plate V, 13-14) and EX D(*ecreto*) D(*ecurionum*) (no. 53: Plate V, 16). The plain formula D·D· is commonest, as under Augustus. P·P·D·D·, at Carthage(?) (as at Utica¹⁰⁰) under Tiberius, repeats the formula used at the same mint under his predecessor.¹⁰¹ P(*ecunia*) P(*ublica*)—for such, here at least, is the likely interpretation of the first two letters¹⁰²—probably refers to the purely local enactment to which the accompanying letters D·D· bear witness. Finally D·D·P·Q· at Cnossus(?) is a variant of P·P·D·D·. It may be compared with the D(*ecurionum*) P(*opuli*) Q(*ue*) C(*onsensu*) at Cirta(??) under Augustus.¹⁰³ Such formulae show no evidence of increasing uniformity under Tiberius, and the same applies to case-usages as regards ethnics, which remain varied.¹⁰⁴

So, too, the Paestan formula S.C., referring apparently to the Roman rather than to the local senate,¹⁰⁵ remains exceptional under Tiberius,¹⁰⁶ just as it was exceptional under Augustus;¹⁰⁷ it is not until the third century that S(*enatus*) R(*omanus*) likewise appears on the issues of Pisidian Antioch.¹⁰⁸ The Roman senate is mentioned by Paestum because it was by a *senatusconsultum*, moved *auctoritate principis*,¹⁰⁹ that these issues, like the official *aes* coinage,¹¹⁰ were authorised. The persistence of this formula on Paes-

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix 2.

¹⁰¹ *FITA*, p. 231.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, cf. n. 7.

¹⁰³ *FITA*, p. 232.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix 7.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Milne, *The Development of Roman Coinage*, p. 22; Piganiol, *RA*, XXII, 1944, p. 124; *FITA*, 287.

¹⁰⁶ Does the fact that a rare ethnic of Carthago Nova follows *in* imply a similar restriction of local authority? Cf. Appendix 7.

¹⁰⁷ *FITA*, p. 284.

¹⁰⁸ Head, p. 706.

¹⁰⁹ The *princeps* exercised this *auctoritas* by virtue of a *ius senatus consulendi* (cf. the *ius primae relationis*) considered as forming part of his *tribunicia potestas*.

¹¹⁰ *FITA*, pp. 446 ff. This theory has been favourably received by Mattingly, *NC*,

tan issues throughout the principate of Tiberius suggests that he continued to use the senate as intermediary for their authorisation.

Regarding cities other than Paestum—which is unparalleled¹¹¹—the situation in this respect is more obscure. Under Augustus their issues were authorised by *auctoritas principis*,¹¹² and this may, sometimes at least, have been given expression by a *senatusconsultum*,¹¹³ however, the cities do not refer to the *senatusconsulta*, but sometimes cite the *auctoritas principis*, using formulas such as PERM(issu) AVG(usti)¹¹⁴—though not in provinces such as Africa and Syria where the governors were important enough to record their own permission.¹¹⁵ PERM·AVG· recurs under Tiberius,¹¹⁶ and its continued link with *auctoritas* is illustrated by the *ex auctor[itate] Ti. Caesaris Augusti et permissu eius* of an Aquinum inscription.¹¹⁷ Whether the *auctoritas* authorising these coinages with PERM·AVG· was exercised through *senatusconsulta*, and (if so) how long this practice continued, is uncertain. All that can be said is that there was a *general* tendency, in the Julio-Claudian period, for the senate's intermediary rôle in the expression of *auctoritas principis* to diminish. At first (recalling S·C· at Paestum) we still find formulae such as *ex.s.c. ex auctorit(ate) Ti. Caesaris*.¹¹⁸ Again, *curatores riparum et alvei Tiberis* were still appointed by *senatusconsulta*—no doubt on the suggestions of the *princeps*—during at least part of the reign of Tiberius; but similar officials are later re-

1946, p. 132; Bellinger, *AJA*, 1947, p. 339; Sutherland, *JRS*, 1947, p. 211, and *CR*, 1947, p. 115; Vallejo, *Emerita*, 1946, p. 407.

¹¹¹ Cf. *FITA*, p. 289.

¹¹² *FITA*, pp. 323 f., 427.

¹¹³ Cf. a *senatusconsultum* apparently authorising an Augustan refoundation (Apmæa) preceding coinage, *FITA*, pp. 292 f. Cf. p. 255.

¹¹⁴ *FITA*, pp. 295, 321.

¹¹⁵ *FITA*, p. 260. Was there a change in A.D. 13 (*ibid.*, p. 453)?

¹¹⁶ E.g. at Emerita, Romula, Italica: Vives, IV, p. 64, no. 39, p. 124, no. 2, p. 127, no. 12. In Africa the governor's permission is still recorded, cf. below, Chapter II, section ii.

¹¹⁷ *ILS*, 6286 (Q. Decius Saturninus) (Aquinum).

¹¹⁸ *ILS*, 942 (C. Pontius Paelignus) (Brixia); Mommsen, *St. R.*, II³, p. 674, n. 1.

corded as completing their duties, no longer *ex s.c.*, but merely *ex auctoritate Ti. Claudii Caesaris . . . principis sui*.¹¹⁹

Tiberius is often stated to have contributed to such changes¹²⁰—A.D. 23¹²¹ and his departure to Capri¹²² in particular are described as turning points—but the most that can be said, in regard to the coinage, is that certain issues over a considerable period were now authorised, not by repeated *senatusconsulta*, but by a single one. For official *aes* pieces of A.D. c. 29 and later sometimes record the *tribunicia potestas* with the date of an earlier year,¹²³ namely the year in which the *princeps* had exercised that *potestas* to move their permissive *senatusconsultum*.¹²⁴ Moreover, two of the Spanish cities which inscribe their coinage under Tiberius PERM· AVG· also coin for a time under him on the basis of an authorisation of Augustus—PERM(issu) DIVI AVG(usti) (Plate VII, 4-6¹²⁵). Whether Augustus used the senate as intermediary for such authorisations or not, this formula suggests that, at least by A.D. 14, they were already becoming less frequent than mintages.

Indeed, the closeness of PERM· DIVI AVG· to A.D. 14 suggests that any paucity of authorisations to which it bears witness owes its origin, like the other Tiberian phenomena that have been discussed in this section, to his predecessor. This consideration recalls that we likewise have no *terminus post quem* for the paucity of *senatusconsulta* illustrated by the delayed tribunician dating on the official *aes*. It has only been identified from later allusions in the types of coins dated to A.D. 22-23: and late Augustan official *aes* has types

¹¹⁹ *ILS*, 5926; cf. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 263 and n. 3; von Premerstein, p. 211; Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, pp. 614 f. See also below, p. 46.

¹²⁰ Hammond, p. 296, n. 23; Scramuzza, *EC*, p. 270, n. 57; Kornemann, *Gnomon*, 1938, p. 561.

¹²¹ Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 6, cf. Marsh, p. 105.

¹²² Marsh, p. 220.

¹²³ *FITA*, p. 447 (but the acceptance there of Sutherland's view of the *Clementia* type expressed in *JRS*, 1938, pp. 131 f., is withdrawn in *RAI*, Chapter III, section ii): Sutherland, *JRS*, 1947, pp. 211 f., describes this as "now generally admitted," against his earlier view in *JRS*, 1938, loc. cit. See also below, p. 123.

¹²⁴ Cf. *FITA*, p. 448.

¹²⁵ Romula, Italica: Vives, IV, p. 124, nos. 2 f., p. 127, no. 9.

too uninformative for such delayed dating, if it occurred, to be identifiable. With the official *aes* this is as far as we can go; but, as regards the colonial issues, PERM· DIVI AVG· seems to indicate that this phenomenon of *en bloc* authorisations, covering a considerable period, was already established before the accession of Tiberius. If this is so, it shares this pre-Tiberian origin with certain other formulae on this coinage as well as with its weights, compositions and types; and it is this conservative aspect of the colonial issues that the present subsection has again illustrated. Later, certain more specifically Tiberian traits will be discussed.¹²⁶

D. EXTENT OF THE COINAGE

In general our conclusions hitherto have suggested that the practice of Tiberius was based on that of the last years of Augustus. However, various other numismatic phenomena, and in particular certain restrictions of coinage, are sometimes attributed to Tiberius rather than to Augustus. In this subsection a number of these attributions will be discussed and, it may be said in anticipation, contested; for the present writer feels that they, too, have ascribed to Tiberius what should rightly be assigned to the latter part of the principate of Augustus.

The first question to be considered is the relative quantity of colonial mints operating under the two *principes*. *Prima facie* it would seem that Roman colonies coined less freely under Tiberius than under Augustus. For there are a number of colonies at which we find, in the principate of Tiberius, no repetitions of Augustan mintages.¹²⁷ The apparent discrepancy between the two reigns is more noticeable outside Spain than inside it; but even in Spain examples occur.¹²⁸ However, for two reasons, with which we are now

¹²⁶ Chapter II, section iv, subsection B.

¹²⁷ Outside Spain (*FITA*, pp. 205 ff.): Narbonese colony ("Arausio"??), Babba, Cirta(?). Simitthu(?), Tyndaris, Lystra, Apamea, Patrae, Buthrotum, Philippi, Berytus(?).

¹²⁸ E.g. Corduba Patricia (*FITA*, p. 220); Tr Augusta (ibid., pp. 175, 221; on the colony see Abaecherli Boyce, *NNM*, 109, 1947, pp. 16 ff.).

familiar, this apparent contrast must be regarded with suspicion. First, a number of the Augustan issues had been prompted by the foundations of the colonies in question, events which took place once and for all and did not recur under Tiberius. Secondly—as in so much else¹²⁹—the contrast disappears if, as regards Augustus, we limit our attention to the last period of his principate. From this angle, though it is impossible to attain any degree of certainty, it no longer seems as though any limitation of colonial minting-rights dates from Tiberius. For we cannot with any probability attribute to the years 2 B.C.-A.D. 14 the coinages of more than nine non-Spanish colonies.¹³⁰ These mints differ somewhat from our Tiberian list; but, far from outnumbering it, they actually fall short of it in length.

The same sort of conclusion emerges from consideration of the Spanish issues. In this field, as far as can be seen in the present state of our knowledge, the number of mints of Tiberius at *coloniae civium Romanorum* amounts to at least eight.¹³¹ This total considerably exceeds that of the last sixteen years of the reign of Augustus, in which there can have been scarcely more than four such mints in action.¹³² Several Latin cities, too, coined in Spain under Tiberius,¹³³ whereas none of the issues of the same towns can be attributed to the last sixteen years of Augustus.¹³⁴

A consideration, on similar lines, of the municipal issues likewise fails to bear witness to a Tiberian policy of greater restriction (or of an increased rate of assimilation of colonies and *municipia*).¹³⁵ In short, it would be rash to say that the principate of Tiberius, taken as a whole, shows greater restrictions in the use of the mints of Roman cities than the later years of Augustus. The number of

¹²⁹ Cf. last three subsections, and Appendices 2, 4 and 5.

¹³⁰ Carthage, Cirta(?), Lystra, Sinope, Berytus, Cnossus, Patrae, Corinth, Buthrotum. See *FITA*, ss. vv.

¹³¹ Acci, Caesaraugusta, Carthago Nova, Celsa, Ilici, Tarraco, Romula, Emerita.

¹³² Caesaraugusta, Carthago Nova, Tarraco, Emerita.

¹³³ Cascantum, Osicerda, Graccurris, Ercavica.

¹³⁴ *FITA*, pp. 335 ff. Here again the coinages may have been due to *constitutiones* (in this case Tiberian).

¹³⁵ See Appendix 2.

colonial mints in action in the later of the two periods was certainly not smaller, and may have been larger, than it was in the preceding decade or two.

The theory of Tiberian restrictions might, however, still be upheld if it could be demonstrated that, even if the number of colonial mints striking in his principate as a whole did not decrease, the incidence of their new issues diminished, not indeed in A.D. 14, but at a later stage or stages during the reign.¹³⁶ But the evidence does not tend in this direction either. First, it is very doubtful whether the suppression of the Paestan coinage should be attributed to Tiberius.¹³⁷ Certain of these issues (nos. 8 f.—Plate I, 12-14—perhaps also no. 3) appear to have been issued very late in the reign,¹³⁸ and their allusion to Ti. Gemellus may indicate that Caligula, rather than Tiberius, was the suppressor. Of the same late Tiberian date are pieces showing the young Caligula at Carthago Nova (Plate VI, 3), his *praefectus*¹³⁹ at Caesaraugusta, and on other pieces of the same mint the date A.D. 31-32;¹⁴⁰ to which may be compared, at *municipia*, a coin of Bilbilis dated to A.D. 31, and the uninterrupted coinage of Emporiae.¹⁴¹

These considerations make it necessary to oppose a number of statements of Mattingly regarding Tiberian local coinages. In the first place, the issues of Carthago Nova and Emporiae to which reference has been made are ignored by his words: "In the latter part of his [Tiberius'] reign and under Caligula, coinage in Spain was limited to Italica, Acci, Bilbilis, Caesaraugusta, Ercavica, Segobriga—in Africa to Carthage, Utica and Hippo Diarrhytus."¹⁴² In-

¹³⁶ This deduction could be drawn from Frank, *ESAR*, V, p. 39, n. 9, who describes the confiscations of the mines of Sex. Marius as having been "for the sake of controlling the coinage."

¹³⁷ The acceptance of this view in *FITA*, p. 289, must be queried.

¹³⁸ Nos. 1 ff. seem early in the reign, no. 4 of the early or middle period, and nos. 6 ff. late.

¹³⁹ Vives, IV, p. 82, nos. 54 f.

¹⁴⁰ Vives, IV, p. 81, nos. 44 f.

¹⁴¹ See Appendix 2.

¹⁴² *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. xxiii.

deed, the inclusion in the latter list of Hippo Diarrhytus, of which no coinage (under Tiberius) seems to be later than the mid-twenties, suggests that Mattingly's statement was intended to cover not only the thirties but the latter part of the twenties as well; in which case its incompleteness is probably much greater.¹⁴³ Moreover, since he wrote, an issue of *municipium* Tingis has come to light,¹⁴⁴ which, if not late Tiberian, is Caligulan;¹⁴⁵ and a coin of Hippo Diarrhytus¹⁴⁶ which, like issues of another even longer-lived colonial mint Babba,¹⁴⁷ was issued under Claudius.¹⁴⁸

For these reasons exception must also be taken to a second assertion by Mattingly: "The one important innovation of his reign—the severe restriction of local coinage in the West—was probably forced on him by the nationalist movements under Sacrovir in Gaul and Tacfarinas in Africa."¹⁴⁹ At least as far as the Roman and Latin cities are concerned (and there is no evidence whatever on which to base any such assertion as regards other categories of city¹⁵⁰),

¹⁴³ Iconographical considerations suggest a late, or fairly late, date for coins of Ilici (Vives, IV, p. 41, no. 6), *municipia* Osca (Vives, IV, p. 51, nos. 12, 15, 18) and Calagurris, and *coloniae Latinae* Graccurris (Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 181) and Cascantum (ibid., p. 168). It cannot be stated with any certainty that some coins of Tarraco and Emerita also are not of late Tiberian date.

¹⁴⁴ Abaecherli Boyce, *NNM*, 109, 1947, pp. 21 ff., and Plate III, 8, 9.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Appendix 2.

¹⁴⁶ Lederer, *NC*, 1943, pp. 92 ff.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Charrier, *Description des Monnaies de la Numidie et de la Maurétanie*, p. 150; *BMC. Imp.*, p. xix, n. 2; *FITA*, pp. 222 f. For the Mauretanian coinage see now P. Quintero Atauri, *Mauritania*, XIV, 163, 1941, p. 167; *AEA*, 46, 1942, p. 63, *Algo sobre Numismática Mauritana* (1945).

¹⁴⁸ This, however exceptional its character and occasion, has made it necessary to avoid ascribing the final suppression of the coinage of this province to Tiberius, as Mattingly, *RC*, p. 195; *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. XIX. For a possible coin of Claudius at Carthage, in honour of Antonia, see below, p. 83 and n. 325.

¹⁴⁹ *RC*, p. 112, cf. pp. 194 f., Hammond, pp. 70 f.

¹⁵⁰ We cannot tell at what point of the early principate the peregrine coinages in the west ended. But in Spain Abdera, Carteia, Ebusus and Clunia (on the earlier issues of which see now Monteverde, *AEA*, 1942, pp. 159 ff.) were still coining under Tiberius, and possibly the last-named city—though this is doubtful, cf. Sutherland, *RIS*, p. 245—even coined under Claudius (Vives, IV, p. 14, Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, p. xxiii, n. 7). Ritterling's assumption that it was Tiberius who suppressed the peregrine coinage of Gaul (*Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde*, XXXIV, pp. 38 f.) is a guess. In *FITA*, p. 474, it is conjectured that the "autonomous" African coinage continued "until late in the principate of Augustus."

there was nothing approaching a "severe restriction of local coinage in the West" at or from the time of these revolts. There is no sign of a diminution of local coinages anywhere in the West from A.D. 21 or 24. Indeed, even if we take the actual province affected by the rebellion of Tacfarinas, Africa, we find that its most extensive series, that of *municipium* Utica, did not even start to issue its main coinages (Plate VIII, 8-9; cf. below, Appendix 2) until after the rebel's death. As regards Sacrovir's country, Gaul, there had been no genuine colonial issues in that country for a good many years before his revolt,¹⁵¹ so it is not significant that there were equally none just after it.

But Mattingly explicitly wishes to extend the connection to Spain also: "Africa and Spain had in no way participated in the revolt (sc. of Sacrovir), but they shared in its results to this extent [n., the war with Tacfarinas may have helped to influence Tiberius], that Tiberius after the early years of his reign more and more discouraged local town issues in those two provinces."¹⁵² As has been stated, the conclusion is unacceptable: both African and Spanish coinages persisted undiminished by these revolts. But even had they not done so, the argument that local coinage in Africa and Spain should have diminished or ceased as a direct result of revolts in Gallia Comata seems, in default of positive evidence, to be an unduly hazardous one. This theory of Mattingly's is linked to another—namely that the same occasion was responsible for the suppression of the "Altar" coinage at Lugdunum,¹⁵³ but this view too seems to the present writer, for reasons discussed in an Appendix, to be baseless.¹⁵⁴

In conclusion, then, it is impracticable to identify either any cessation of "Altar" coinage, or any diminution of Western local mints,

¹⁵¹ The present writer does not consider the coinage of Nemausus to be "genuine colonial"; but even at that mint (though it coined under the later Julio-Claudians) there is no reliable evidence of Tiberian issues; see Appendix 1. For the colonial coinage of Gaul under Augustus, see *FITA*, pp. 206 ff.

¹⁵² *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. xviii.

¹⁵³ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. xviii; *RC*, p. 195.

¹⁵⁴ See Appendix 8.

with the revolts of Sacrovir or Tacfarinas; and it must rather be concluded, whether we take the principate of Tiberius as a whole or concentrate on any particular section of it, that the number of colonial and municipal mints coining was not smaller than in the last sixteen years of Augustus.

We reach a somewhat similar conclusion if we look, not at the number of mints, but at the extent of their output, that is to say, at the extent to which these coinages contributed to the bulk of the imperial small change. A *prima facie* comparison between Augustus and Tiberius is again deceptive. For, outside Spain, we find no colony issuing a large mass of coinage under Tiberius. Only Paestum (Plate I, 1-14), Carthage (?) (Plate II, 1-2), Pella (Plate IV, 6-11) and Corinth (Plate V, 4-9) apparently issued a moderate quantity; whereas under Augustus not only had these cities done likewise,¹⁵⁵ but also Buthrotum, Parium, Berytus and Sinope had contributed more or less considerably to the bulk of the empire's *aes* coinage.¹⁵⁶ But if (as on the preceding pages) we adopt the more logical proceeding of restricting our comparison, as far as the principate of Augustus is concerned, to its last sixteen years, we find a very different story. For by then the colonial mints of Buthrotum, Parium, and indeed Pella as well, had ceased to issue, and did not do so again during the reign;¹⁵⁷ whereas Sinope only continued to issue a few pieces that are very nearly as rare as the Tiberian example.¹⁵⁸ It is true that Berytus issued a fair amount of coinage shortly before the death of Augustus;¹⁵⁹ but in this respect it merely cancels out with Pella, which, by way of contrast, seems to have issued a fair bulk of coinage under Tiberius but none (as far as is known) during the last sixteen years of Augustus.

In general, then, outside Spain at least, the colonies contributed

¹⁵⁵ Carthage (*FITA*, p. 231) should perhaps have been added to the list of Augustan colonies with a fair output (*ibid.*, p. 296)—at least as regards the last years of the reign. At the latter period its output was about the same as under Tiberius.

¹⁵⁶ *FITA*, p. 296.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 253, n. 3.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 260. For Tiberius, see Appendix 1, no. 8.

to the imperial monetary system under Tiberius no less than in the last years of Augustus;¹⁶⁰ while one African *municipium*, Utica, seems to have started quite an extensive coinage after the death of Augustus.¹⁶¹ Spain reveals a similar situation. It is true that Carthago Nova may provide a smaller volume of coinage after the accession of Tiberius than it had shortly before it; but as against this the issues of Caesaraugusta (Plate VI, 1-2), Tarraco (Plate VII, 1-3), Romula (Plate VII, 5-7) and Emerita¹⁶² (Plate VI, 9, and VII, 8) are actually more prolific under Tiberius than in the last years of his predecessor.¹⁶³ In Spain, then, as outside Spain, the colonies' contribution in bulk to the imperial monetary system, viewed as a whole, seems as extensive in the reign of Tiberius as in the years immediately preceding his accession; and here again our evidence suggests the abandonment of theories attributing severe restrictions to the coinage of Roman cities during the first decade of his principate.

Thus our conclusion in regard to the bulk of colonial coinage, and the number of colonial mints, under Tiberius closely resembles the conclusions previously reached in connection with the types, signatories, formulas, metrology, and occasions of these issues. In every case apparent contrasts between the principates of Augustus and Tiberius have vanished when consideration of the former's reign is limited to his last sixteen years. To the practice of those years, in which he played so great a part himself,¹⁶⁴ Tiberius re-

¹⁶⁰ In Africa the Tiberian issues of Hippo Diarrhytus and Thapsus, fairly varied but now very rare, correspond approximately with those of the former city and Hadrumetum under Augustus (*FITA*, p. 296).

¹⁶¹ *FITA*, p. 182, n. 1. Cf. below, Appendix 2.

¹⁶² For this mint see now Farrés, *AEA*, 1946, pp. 209 ff.

¹⁶³ However, a few coins of Romula (Vives, IV, p. 124, 2; Plate VII, 5-6) and *municipium* Italica (Vives, IV, p. 127, 9; Plate VII, 4) inscribe their issues of the new principate, not PERM·AVG· or PERM·TI· CAES· AVG·, but PER[M]· DIVI AVG·—presumably without yet having received the permission of Augustus, but relying on the belief that measures *ex auctoritate principis* survived the death of their initiator; cf. Orestano, *BIDR*, 1937, p. 330, and last subsection.

¹⁶⁴ On this aspect (of a period somewhat neglected, except as regards warfare, by *CAH*, X), see especially J. Schwartz, *RPh*, 1945, pp. 22 f.; Kornemann, *DR*, pp. 26 ff.; *GFA*, pp. 199 ff.; *GR*, pp. 157 ff.

mained faithful; and this conclusion accords exactly with the strong literary tradition of his reliance on Augustan precedents.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Strabo, VI, 288; Tac., *Agr.*, 13, *Ann.*, I, 72, 77, II, 87, IV, 37; cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, pp. 612 f.

CHAPTER II

TIBERIUS AS *PRINCEPS*

(i) The names and titles of Tiberius

ON this as on other coinage of Tiberius, an overwhelming degree of preference is given to names and titles of which the link is not with *imperium*, or for the most part with any formal *potestas*, but with that range of conceptions lying outside the scope of such formal powers and conveniently comprised within the term *auctoritas*.¹ In this category are the three most characteristic and frequent titulatures of Tiberius as *princeps*, all exemplified by our non-Spanish colonial issues:

- (a) TI·CAESAR AVGVSTVS (nos. 14[?], 17, 48, 50: Plate I, 21[?], II, 3, V, 10 and 13).
- (b) TI·CAESAR DIVI AVG·F·AVGVSTVS (nos. 18-20, 33: Plate II, 4, 5, 7, IV, 5).
- (c) TI·CAES[AR] (no. 41: Plate V, 1).

The completest version (b) may be compared and contrasted with the latest official coin-title of his predecessor, CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F·PATER PATRIAE.² Let us consider the gentile, praenominal and cognominal positions in turn. In the Augustan titulature, "Augustus" is in the middle (gentile) position, just as *coloniae Iuliae* had been replaced by *coloniae Augustae*.³ Under Tiberius, "Augustus" usually⁴ moves from the gentile to the cog-

¹ This is here interpreted as not comprising any legalised power or magistracy or source of law; cf. *FITA*, p. 426 (nn. 8, 9 for some references). The supposition of Magdelain, p. 90, that such a development occurred in A.D. 13 seems to be based on a mis-translation of Dio 56. 28. For lists of references to *auctoritas* in general see *FITA*, p. 443 f.; Geijeiro, *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, XIII, 1941, pp. 409 ff.

² *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 87 ff., 94, 97; cf. *ILS*, 104, Hammond, p. 247, n. 1. But cf. p. 47.

³ Cf. *FITA*, pp. 257, 293, n. 1, and below, Chapter III, section i.

⁴ TI·AVGVSTVS, however, is occasionally found, e.g. on official coinage of Parium(?) with "colonist" type (*FITA*, Plate IV, 31, cf. p. 111, n. 10), and in *Fasti Antiates* (*CIL*, I², p. 284). In longer titulatures "Augustus" only appears in the gentile po-

nominal, and less conspicuous, position.⁵ This suggests that the appellation "Augustus" is less closely associated with Tiberius than with the first *princeps*. The same impression is created by version (c), which is paralleled on numerous inscriptions.⁶ Augustus had sometimes been called "Caesar" *tout simple*, throughout his life,⁷ and had also placed the name in the "gentile" position.⁸ But the latter practice was infrequent after his early days,⁹ whereas Tiberius followed it throughout his principate, in which plain "Ti. Caesar" was one of his commonest titulatures.¹⁰ This use of "Caesar" where his predecessor had used "Augustus" recalls that, in the reign of Tiberius, there likewise existed a tendency to avoid calling the imperial family *Gens Augusta*.¹¹ For Tiberius, lacking somewhat the *auctoritas* of his predecessor, did not apparently feel able or willing to lay so much emphasis on the Augustan name. This may be the basis of the well-known assertions by the literary authorities that he refused the name altogether.¹² That, however, was not the case;¹³ but he must have been conscious of the difficulty of competing with the illustrious dead. The use of "Caesar" instead of "Augustus" in the prominent gentile position does not particularly imply a link with Divus Julius, who plays no part in the coinage or publicity of Tiberius¹⁴ and whose gentile name (though still

sition in exceptional and irregular cases, e.g. Caesaraugusta (Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 93, no. 21).

⁵ For parallels on the official coinage see *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 120 ff.; cf. *ILS*, 164.

⁶ E.g. *ILS*, 154, 6285; cf. Gardthausen, *RE*, X, 1, 478; cf. also coins of Emerita, Vives, IV, p. 67, no. 66; and Largus (Helmreich, 97, 120, cf. Pippidi, *RCl*, p. 143). Prof. R. Syme has reminded me of the tendency to "binominalism."

⁷ Cf. *FITA*, pp. 109 f. (examples p. 109, n. 2; these seem to outweigh the doubts of Mattingly, *NC*, 1946, p. 131).

⁸ Cf. Ehrenberg, p. 203.

⁹ A revival of this usage on a late Augustan *aes* coinage is due to special commemorative circumstances, cf. below, this subsection, and *RAI*, Chapter II, section ii.

¹⁰ For some of the references see *ILS*, III, 1, p. 262.

¹¹ See below, Chapter III, section i.

¹² Suet., *Tib.*, 26.2, Dio 57.2.1 (qualified 57.8.1).

¹³ See Hammond, p. 268, n. 22; von Premerstein, p. 174, n. 2; Scott, *CP*, 1932, pp. 43 f.; and (erroneously), Baker, *Tiberius Caesar*, p. 166; Haywood, *ESAR*, IV, p. 34, etc.

¹⁴ Cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, pp. 23, 36; Pippidi, *RCl*, p. 132, n. 1.

used for the *gens*¹⁵) does not figure in the latter's official titulatures.¹⁶ The name "Caesar" rather illustrates the desire for a principal name which, while stressing his inheritance,¹⁷ avoids the overwhelmingly close association with the first emperor possessed by the appellative "Augustus." Thus Tiberius was the "Caesar"; and his family could come to be known as the "Caesares"; we hear, in the provinces, of a *pontifex Caesarum*.¹⁸ Even under his predecessor, colonies had been called *Caesarea*¹⁹ and perhaps *Caesarina*.²⁰

But Augustus had, in his own last titlature, moved "Caesar" from the gentile position to that of *praenomen* (CAESAR AVGVS-TVS DIVI F. PATER PATRIAE). Tiberius' treatment of the praenominal position can be considered and dismissed very briefly. For he evidently felt that any experiments with *praenomina* could be regarded by conservatives as too reminiscent of the revolutionary years, of which such usages had been a characteristic feature;²¹ and so he preferred to keep his own *praenomen*. In this respect, as in the relegation of "Augustus" from the gentile position, he deviated from the final practice of his predecessor.

For similar reasons he again deviated in regard to the cognominal position. The absence of PATER PATRIAE from his entire official coinage leaves us in no doubt that, as the literary tradition records,²² he refused this title or rather *cognomen*.²³ Even apart from its close personal association with Augustus as his climactic design-

¹⁵ See below, Chapter III, section i.

¹⁶ It only appears on erroneously composed non-Roman inscriptions, e.g. *ILS*, 161, 244; *CIG*, 2657; cf. Gardthausen, *RE*, X, 1, 478. Even *divi Iuli f.* (of Augustus under Tiberius) is only used on *ILS*, 115, to achieve symmetry with the *Divi Augusti f.* of Tiberius.

¹⁷ For the replacement of the ordinary *nomen* stresses the special position of the imperial *gens*, cf. Ehrenberg, p. 203. Cf. for Agrippa, Sen. *Controv.*, II, 4, 13, Syme, *JRS*, 1948, pp. 124 f.

¹⁸ *CIL*, II, 2038 (Anticaria); cf. Sutherland, *RIS*, p. 159, *JRS*, 1934, p. 35.

¹⁹ *FITA*, p. 250 (Antioch in Pisidia); but not Sinope, *ibid.*, p. 253.

²⁰ Henderson, *JRS*, 1942, p. 13 (Asido).

²¹ *FITA*, pp. 408, 414 ff. For the early principate see Fraenkel, *RE*, XVI, 2, 1663.

²² Tac., *Ann.*, I, 72, II, 87 (*parens*), Dio 58, 12, 8, cf. 57, 8, 1; Suet., *Tib.*, 26; cf. von Premerstein, p. 174; Rogers, pp. 63 f., 67 f.

²³ Weber, p. 264, n. 692.

nation²⁴ it would, for his modest successor, have been rather an uncomfortable appellation: since, though primarily and initially honorary (i.e. an expression of *auctoritas*²⁵), it carried an autocratic suggestion²⁶ owing to its implication, later stressed by Seneca,²⁷ of *patria potestas*.²⁸ The refusal, however, of this ambiguous *cognomen* by Tiberius was imperfectly appreciated by the cities of the empire, for it is none the less attributed to him by the coinage of Carthage (nos. 15 and 16: Plate II, 1 and 2), as well as by certain non-Roman inscriptions.²⁹ Comparable, except that the community is a peregrine one, is the erroneous description of Livia by Lepcis Magna as MATER PATRIAE (Plate VIII, 6), a title which Tiberius is stated to have refused on her behalf.³⁰ Outside Rome, little attempt was evidently made to fall in with the official *moderatio* of Tiberius.

This moderation, as is now clear, led him to prefer in each of the three parts of his name—*nomen*, *praenomen*, and *cognomen*—appellations less prominent than those which Augustus had finally used in those positions. Moreover, Augustus' *cognomen* at least had carried a still unofficial undertone of *patria potestas*, whereas, of the three regular names of Tiberius, one (his *praenomen*) was his own, and the others were firmly within the sphere of *auctoritas*. For Tiberius could have said, no less conscientiously than his predecessor, *praestiti omnibus auctoritate, potestatis autem nihil amplius habui quam ceteri qui mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae fuerunt*.³¹ In the titulatures of Tiberius there is an overwhelming prominence of appellations belonging to the former of these categories.

²⁴ *Compos factus votorum meorum*, Suet., *Aug.*, 58.

²⁵ Cf. Mommsen, *St. R.*, II³, p. 780; *FITA*, p. 444 (n. 6 references).

²⁶ It was revived by Caligula and began to have a special significance as *pater exercitus*; cf. Kornemann, *Gnomon*, 1938, p. 555.

²⁷ *De Clem.*, I, 14, 2; cf. von Premerstein, p. 174 and n. 5.

²⁸ Schönbauer, *SB Wien*, 224, 2, 1946, pp. 38, 44, 104, compares it from the beginning to the *consensus universorum* of 29 B.C., which he regards as a *Rechtsquelle*.

²⁹ E.g. *CIL*, V, 6416, XI, 3085; *IGRR*, I, 853; cf. Smith, p. 23, n. 46. An *as* with PATER PATRIAE quoted by Cohen is doubted by *RIC*, p. 104, n. 3.

³⁰ See below, Chapter III, section iv, subsection C, n. 269.

³¹ *RG*, 6: for recent discussions of this phrase, see Magdelain, pp. 67 ff., and the present writer in *Greece and Rome*, 1949, p. 104.

But his colonial coinages also bear witness to his permanent tenure of two offices comprising *potestas*: and their choice is significant, for, while neither has the autocratic taint of *imperium*,³² one is priestly and the other popular and collaborative—the high-priesthood and the tribunician power. To the former of these offices our non-Spanish issues, unlike their Spanish counterparts,³³ an official issue,³⁴ and a large proportion of epigraphic titulatures,³⁵ do not refer explicitly; but Hippo Diarrhytus refers to it symbolically by the inclusion of *simpulum* and *lituus* on either side of the portrait of Tiberius (no. 20: Plate II, 7). There is a strong priestly trend apparent in many of his issues, and notably in the frequent and most characteristic representations of Livia.³⁶ It has been considered not impossible that the principate of Tiberius witnessed an enhancement of the imperial high-priesthood.³⁷ At all events that office did not decline under Tiberius from the striking importance which it had attained under Augustus,³⁸ who may, it is suggested elsewhere, have linked it with the imperial auspices.³⁹

This priestly office, then, was one of the two permanent *potestates* of Tiberius recorded in his coin-titulatures; and the other was the tribunician power. This does not figure on our non-Spanish issues, and we have to look to Spain for the inclusion in the titulatures of Tiberius and Drusus junior, at Tarraco, of TRIB(unicia) POT(estate) (Plate VII, 3);⁴⁰ and the same phrase is applied to Tiberius, with number, at Caesaraugusta.⁴¹ The rarity of this title on

³² For the lack of *imperium* by the *pontifex maximus* cf. Rosenberg, *RE*, IX, 1207, Brecht, *Sav. Z.*, 1939, pp. 291 f., against Mommsen, *St. R.*, II³, p. 20 and n. 2.

³³ E.g. Emerita (Vives, IV, p. 66, no. 65); Tarraco (*ibid.*, p. 132, nos. 19 f.); Carthago Nova (Plate VI, 3); Ilici (Plate VI, 6); also *municipium* Osca (Vives, IV, p. 52, no. 18), and the peregrine town Segobriga (*ibid.*, p. 48, no. 5).

³⁴ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 144 (Caesarea in Cappadocia).

³⁵ *ILS*, III, 1, p. 262.

³⁶ See below, Chapter III, section iv, subsection B.

³⁷ Cf. Balsdon, p. 147.

³⁸ The latter is especially emphasized by Homo, *Mélanges G. Glotz*, p. 443; Kornemann, *QAS*, IV, 1938, p. 11.

³⁹ See below, Appendix 11.

⁴⁰ Vives, IV, p. 132, no. 20.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80, nos. 44 ff.; cf. Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 94.

the local coinages of Tiberius—for it does not occur at all on his peregrine issues—is in close accordance with the practice of Augustus, under whom the only cities to refer to the tribunician power on their coinage were the colonies Tarraco and Pisidian Antioch.⁴² These were both provincial centres of importance, and so was Caesaraugusta, the chief colonial mint of Tiberius.⁴³ By their employment of this imperial title, these cities were imitating a very common usage, not indeed of the gold and silver coinage, but of the official *aes*;⁴⁴ the latter, like many inscriptions,⁴⁵ resemble the Tiberian issue of Caesaraugusta, rather than that of Tarraco, by adding a tribunician date. The *tribunicia potestas* was ostensibly a popular power comprising the *ius auxilii*, but its real meaning lay in the fact that, by it, the *princeps* was enabled to introduce motions in the senate.⁴⁶ But the references to the power on these Spanish coinages do not entitle us to conclude that the senate figured as an intermediary in their authorisation; the process may have been purely imitative. On the other hand, it would be equally imprudent to deduce from the absence of the tribunician formula from our non-Spanish issues, and from its rarity even in Spain, that the senate did *not* figure as an intermediary as regards this type of issue;⁴⁷ for the cities, especially those too remote or backward to be conscious of Roman procedure, might well have been preoccupied with the fact of the authorisation (PERM·AVG·, PERM·DIVI AVG·, PERM... PRO-COS·) rather than with the medium through which it was promulgated.

These then are the only two permanent *potestates* to which the coin-titulatures of Tiberius bear witness; and neither of them includes *imperium*. In the revolutionary years before 27 B.C. the symbol of the rulers' *imperium* had been the *praenomen Imperatoris*.⁴⁸

⁴² *FITA*, p. 446, cf. pp. 219, 251.

⁴³ Cf. above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection D.

⁴⁴ *FITA*, p. 446 and n. 2, cf. pp. 99 f., 106, 119, 135, 139, 145.

⁴⁵ References in Smith, p. 18, n. 28.

⁴⁶ Also the Assembly: Grant, *Greece and Rome*, 1949, pp. 108 ff.

⁴⁷ A statement in *FITA*, p. 446, might be thus interpreted as intending such a deduction. See above, p. 31.

⁴⁸ *FITA*, pp. 408 ff.

But thenceforward, by way of contrast, that title had ceased to represent the *imperium* and had almost entirely disappeared from the official coinage.⁴⁹ It had momentarily reappeared on imperial *aes* near the end of Augustus' life (A.D. 11-12):⁵⁰ but its reappearance had apparently been due, not to any connection with his current *imperium* or to any other constitutional reason, but to the past glories of the *princeps*—the *Victoria Augusti*, recalled to memory on the half-centenary of his first *ovatio*.⁵¹ Possibly too there was a desire to distinguish him from his vicegerent Tiberius.⁵² The latter, on becoming *princeps*, evidently refused the title,⁵³ which is only ascribed to him on a single irregular coin-titulature at Calagurris⁵⁴ and on unofficial inscriptions,⁵⁵ many (though by no means all⁵⁶) of the first part of his reign.⁵⁷ These retain his personal *praenomen* also, so that *Imperator*, even on these unofficial issues, figures as a prefix rather than a true *praenomen*.⁵⁸

Thapsus, however, attributes to Tiberius the *cognomen Imperatoris*, followed by a number in the traditional manner (nos. 21-31: Plate II, 9, III, 1-7, IV, 1-3). Carthage, on the other hand (Plate II, 1, 2) describes him by the *cognomen Imperatoris* without number: as is suggested by the equally inaccurate addition of the title *pater patriae*, this too is an unofficial and irregular usage. So also are similar examples on coins of Emerita,⁵⁹ Caesaraugusta⁶⁰ and

⁴⁹ *FITA*, pp. 440 ff.

⁵⁰ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 50, no. 275.

⁵¹ *RAI*, Chapter II, section ii.

⁵² *FITA*, p. 440.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 415, n. 9, 440, 441, n. 1; von Premerstein, pp. 174, n. 2, 255; Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 617, n. 2.

⁵⁴ Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 170 (IMP·CAESAR TI·AVGVS·DIVI AVGVSTI F·).

⁵⁵ E.g. *ILS*, 151, 152, etc.; cf. Smith, p. 23, n. 46 (references); Gardthausen, *RE*, X, 1, 524; Abaecherli, *TAPA*, 1932, p. 267; von Premerstein, p. 256, n. 2. These were due to "carelessness or ignorance," cf. Cagnat, *Cours d'Epigraphie*⁴, p. 181, n. 1.

⁵⁶ E.g. *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen*, VIII, p. 110; *RA*, 1914, p. 488, no. 172; cf. Dessau ap. *ILS*, 151; Abaecherli, loc. cit.

⁵⁷ Mommsen, *St. R.*, II³, p. 769, n. 2; Dessau, loc. cit.

⁵⁸ For the distinction cf. *FITA*, pp. 409, 415.

⁵⁹ Vives, IV, pp. 66 f.

⁶⁰ Vives, IV, p. 84, no. 64.

Tarraco,⁶¹ and on inscriptions.⁶² On his official issues—as at Thapsus (nos. 21 ff.: Plate II, 9, III, 1-5, 7, IV, 1) and Antioch in Pisidia (no. 52: Plate V, 15)—Tiberius never used his *cognomen* without salutation number.⁶³ The unnumbered usage had been a feature of official titulatures in the early thirties B.C.,⁶⁴ and was not to return to them until Caligula (exceptionally⁶⁵) and Claudius (regularly⁶⁶). It provided a means of describing emperors who, while not wishing to lay claim to the *praenomen* so closely associated with Augustus, were nevertheless, or wanted to be, the leading *Imperatores* of their time.

The titlature of our coins thus illustrates the recognition of Tiberius as the man with the greatest military record of anyone living.⁶⁷ It would not, however, be justifiable to deduce from this any conclusions regarding his *imperium*: for, even on official titulatures of the Augustan period, the *Imperator* title had lacked any such significance. *Praenomen* and *cognomen* alike were purely honorific, and indeed the application of either to Tiberius was contrary to his cautious official policy. A positive record of that policy happens to exist, and it shows that Tiberius, in avoiding such honorary usages, desired the *Imperator* title to be restricted to purely military matters: αὐτοκράτωρ (*imperator*) δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν πρόκριτός (*princeps*) εἰμι.⁶⁸ But centralisation was not so far advanced⁶⁹ that he could or would prevent communities outside Rome from deviations; and instances such as our Carthaginian coinage with the unnumbered *cognomen* represent unof-

⁶¹ Vives, IV, p. 132, no. 19.

⁶² E.g. *ILS*, 155, 161, 2280, 2281, 5829, etc.

⁶³ *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 120 ff., 128 ff.; cf. *ILS*, 113, 152, 156, 160, 164, etc.

⁶⁴ *FITA*, pp. 414 f.

⁶⁵ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 161, no. 102 (Caesarea in Cappadocia).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 181 ff.

⁶⁷ Cf. the equally irregular *Imp. Perpet.* of Gaulus, *ILS*, 121; Hammond, p. 218, n. 42; Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 612, n. 3; Guey, *Journal des Savants*, 1938, p. 74; Momigliano, *JRS*, 1944, p. 114.

⁶⁸ Dio 57.8, *FITA*, p. 441.

⁶⁹ Cf. Chapter I, section ii, subsection C.

ficial moves to attribute to him the glory which he officially discounted. Such examples abundantly justify the view that, no less and perhaps more than in the principate of Augustus, *Imperator* had become an expression not of *imperium* but of *auctoritas*.⁷⁰

The same is true of the only group of non-Spanish colonial references to a magistracy with *imperium*, namely the consulship. For when Thapsus records a consulate of Tiberius, it alludes to the same fourth consulate under no less than three proconsuls (nos. 24 f., 27, 29 f.: Plate III, 3, 5, 7, IV, 1-2).⁷¹ He held that consulate in A.D. 21, a date in advance of at least one of the governorships in question⁷²—the coins of which thus record, not the *imperium* of a current tenure, but the *auctoritas* of a past tenure, of the office which excelled all others in both properties.⁷³ From a desire to maintain its high *auctoritas*, Tiberius, like Augustus,⁷⁴ paid the consulship marked attention and respect;⁷⁵ and from a desire—again like Augustus—not to monopolize high *imperium*, he himself used it sparingly.⁷⁶

For, as these titulatures have abundantly shown, *imperium* (like the title *Imperator*) was not intended to play a prominent part in the official presentation of the régime of Tiberius. This was one of the latter's negative aspects, and negative too was his aversion to each of the final names of his predecessor—the abnormal *praenomena*, "Augustus" in the gentile position, and the *cognomen* of *pater*

⁷⁰ Cf. de Visscher, *Les Édits d'Auguste découverts à Cyrene*, p. 124; Schönbauer, *SB Wien*, 224.2, 1946, p. 73; *FITA*, p. 444 and n. 7, cf. pp. 434 ff. Cf. above, p. 47.

⁷¹ The combination of consular title with numbered *cognomen Imperatoris* is rare under Tiberius, but cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 144, no. 174. Equally rare at this time is the precedence of the salutation title, though this was fairly common under Augustus and recurs on the tombstone of Tiberius (*ILS*, 164; cf. Hammond, p. 248, n. 1).

⁷² P. Cornelius Dolabella, A.D. 23-24, cf. de Laet, p. 43, no. 129.

⁷³ Cf. *FITA*, p. 426, and n. 2.

⁷⁴ Cf. the *Ara Pacis* reliefs, on which he stands between the consuls, de Francisci, *Augustus*, p. 98, n. 5.

⁷⁵ Suet., *Tib.*, 31, 2, Dio 57, 11; cf. Hohl, *Hermes*, 1933, p. 111. Rogers, p. 78; Groag, *Wiener Studien*, 1929, p. 144; Smith, p. 85, n. 26.

⁷⁶ Three times; cf. Balsdon, p. 147, Hammond, p. 86. For the unfortunate character of his consulates see Thiel, *Mnemosyne*, 1935/6, p. 201. He was offered the consulship for himself and Sejanus for five years: Dio 58, 4.

patriae. Faithful as Tiberius was to every example left by Augustus, he was nevertheless unwilling to model himself so closely on him as to suggest comparison or rivalry: and in such respects, at least, he may be said to have looked to the Republic.⁷⁷ Indeed, overwhelmed by the magnitude of his predecessor, at first he was reluctant to face the *statio principis* at all, at least as a permanent commitment.⁷⁸ For he was grimly aware that the *princeps* was called upon to be more than other men were: *maius aliquid et excelsius a principe postulatur*.⁷⁹ It remains to be seen what positive means of fulfilling this rôle were available to Tiberius—that is to say, what means his exemplar Augustus had provided for him. And means there were, even to a man who shied at the titulature of Augustus; for Augustus had left more than names and titles.

(ii) Tiberius and the Proconsuls of Africa

A. AMICITIA PRINCIPIS AND c. A.D. 21

Two African colonies and perhaps one Sicilian one provide allusions to contemporary proconsuls. The Sicilian colony is Panormus (no. 10: Plate I, 15). This shows the name of P. Silva (or Silvanus) PR., who was, according to a tentative interpretation, a Tiberian proconsul of Sicily, appearing in the capacity of colonial *adsignator* in which Augustan governors, too, had figured on the coinage of Sicilian cities.⁸⁰ Here, however, attention will rather be devoted to the coins of the African colonies. One of these cities is Hippo Diarrhytus, which displays the portrait and inscription of L. Aproni-

⁷⁷ For the interpretation of Tiberius as a "Republican" see especially Levi, *La Politica Imperiale di Roma*, p. 269; Syme, RR, pp. 344 f., 408, n. 3, 418, 507; Rogers, TAPA, 1940, pp. 534 f.; Kornemann, SB München, 1947, I, pp. 4, 6 ff. For his choice of friends see references in section ii, subsection A; and for the literary aspect, Bardon, *Les Empéteurs et les Lettres Latines d'Auguste à Hadrien*, pp. 108 ff.

⁷⁸ Suet., Tib.: *miseram et onerosam iniungi sibi servitutem*; cf. Syme, RR, p. 344, n. 6; Smith, pp. 33 f.

⁷⁹ Tac., Ann., III, 53; cf. Klostermann, *Philologus*, 1932, pp. 365 f.; Charlesworth, JRS, 1943, p. 2.

⁸⁰ FITA, pp. 197 f., n. 6; see also below, Appendix 5.

us (A.D. 18-21)⁸¹ (no. 20: Plate II, 8). The other city is Thapsus, which records the *permissus* of the same proconsul (nos. 24-26: Plates III, 3-4, 6, and IV, 2)—in A.D. 21⁸²—and subsequently of Q. Junius Blaesus (A.D. 21-23⁸³) (nos. 27, 28: Plate III, 7) and P. Cornelius Dolabella (A.D. 23-24⁸⁴) (nos. 29-31: Plates III, 5, IV, 1, 3).

This and the following subsection will endeavour to assess the position of these proconsuls of Africa. Subsection B will discuss their relation to the auspices and *imperium* of Tiberius; but here, first of all, an attempt will be made to demonstrate that they owe their numismatic honours not to any rights or powers but to their friendship with Tiberius, and that it was for certain significant reasons that these honours began when they did.

These issues can only be properly appreciated if they are compared with coinage of the Augustan period; and several important analogies from that period are at hand. For our mintages both of Hippo Diarrhytus and of Thapsus closely imitate precedents from the principate of Augustus. Hippo Diarrhytus had coined with the name and portrait of Africanus Fabius Maximus,⁸⁵ and so had Hadrumetum, adding P. Quinctilius Varus and L. Volusius Saturninus,⁸⁶ both of whom were also portrayed at *colonia* Achulla.⁸⁷ Likewise Simitthu (??), alone among Augustan cities in this respect, had shewn, not the portrait, but the *permissus*, of the last-named proconsul,⁸⁸ like Thapsus under Tiberius.

There are further points of coincidence between these Augustan and Tiberian issues of Africa which suggest that the resemblances are not fortuitous. In the first place, the "portrait" coinages under Augustus, to which reference has been made, were clearly contem-

⁸¹ De Laet, p. 26, no. 39.

⁸² The third year of his tenure; and COS. IV. (Gelzer, *RE*, X, 506).

⁸³ De Laet, p. 56, no. 198. No. 27, at least, refers to his second year.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43, no. 129.

⁸⁵ *FITA*, p. 224.

⁸⁶ *FITA*, p. 228.

⁸⁷ *FITA*, p. 230.

⁸⁸ *FITA*, pp. 232 f.

porary with the *permissus* piece, for one proconsul, L. Volusius Saturninus, was common to both: the same applies to the Tiberian issues, for here again a single governor, L. Apronius, appears on both portrait and *permissus* categories. His *permissus* coinage was struck in A.D. 21; thus the same may well apply to his portrait issue also. Moreover, it is likely that Volusius and Apronius, the two proconsuls who are common to the portrait and *permissus* categories, both inaugurated these categories as far as their respective principates are concerned. This is manifestly true of Apronius, and there is some reason to believe that the Augustan issues had commenced in c. 7 B.C., and that the proconsul at the time was Volusius.⁸⁹

But there may be a further similarity between the African issues of Augustus and Tiberius. The former were exactly, or very nearly, contemporary with the first local coinages of Asia to honour proconsuls since 27 B.C.⁹⁰ These Asian issues were of Temnus, Pitane and Hierapolis, and the proconsuls were C. Asinius Gallus, P. Cornelius Scipio, and Paullus Fabius Maximus.⁹¹ Our Tiberian mintages of Africa seem likewise to find an almost contemporary parallel in the Asian cities. For, under Tiberius, two of the only three Asian proconsuls who were signalised on Asian coinages (with the difference, in this case, that only their names and not their portraits appear⁹²) were Q. Poppaeus Secundus at Pergamum⁹³ and possibly Tabae,⁹⁴ and M. Aemilius Lepidus at Cotiae-

⁸⁹ Cf. *FITA*, p. 228 and n. 7; de Laet, p. 245, ascribes Volusius to c. 8-7 and Varus to c. 7-6. For Africanus Fabius Maximus see recently *PIR*², III, p. 102, no. 46.

⁹⁰ *FITA*, pp. 229, 387, but see next note.

⁹¹ *FITA*, pp. 387 f., but suggesting c. 7-6 B.C. for Scipio and c. 5-4 for Paullus— but Syme attributes the latter to 9-8, *PIR*², II, p. 355 (cf. *PIR*², III, p. 103, no. 47) to 10-9.

⁹² Their names are recorded in the Genitive after EIII; there is a divergence here from the Augustan practice, for, whereas the portraits are honorific, EIII was not yet purely eponymous but implied a measure of executive action; indeed it can to a certain (though a limited) extent be compared with PERMISSV (*FITA*, pp. 398 ff.). Thus in A.D. 21 the compliment to the governors of Asia took rather a different form from the honours of c. 7 B.C.

⁹³ *BMC, Mysia*, p. 140, no. 251.

⁹⁴ See Appendix 9.

um.⁹⁵ Poppaeus governed in some year between c. 15 and c. 20,⁹⁶ and Aemilius in c. 21-23.⁹⁷ Moreover, the third and last Asian proconsul to be recorded on coinage in this way under Tiberius, P. Petronius at Pergamum⁹⁸ and Smyrna,⁹⁹ was not far from contemporary with a fourth and last African proconsul to receive a similar honour, C. Vibius Marsus, whose name appears in the Ablative (or Dative) on issues of *municipium* Utica (Plate VIII, 8-9).¹⁰⁰ For Petronius governed Asia from c. 29/30-c. 34/35,¹⁰¹ and Vibius Marsus was proconsul of Africa from 27 to 30.¹⁰² Thus the Tiberian issues honouring proconsuls of Africa seem not unrelated with coinages in the other consular senatorial province, Asia;¹⁰³ and this provides a further resemblance between the African issues under Tiberius and those under Augustus.

The governors selected by Augustus (or by the cities at a hint from him) for these honours were without exception *amici principis*, and every one of them was related to him¹⁰⁴—a most important factor in *amicitia*.¹⁰⁵ Thus under Augustus, though there is no question of portrait “rights,”¹⁰⁶ numismatic portraiture and record (including the record of *permissus*)¹⁰⁷ were considered by African and Asian cities—and probably this view originated from a central

⁹⁵ *BMC, Phrygia*, p. 163, no. 26.

⁹⁶ De Laet, p. 73, no. 302.

⁹⁷ De Laet, p. 22, no. 16.

⁹⁸ *BMC, Mysia*, p. 39, no. 253.

⁹⁹ *BMC, Ionia*, p. 268, no. 266.

¹⁰⁰ Müller, I, pp. 159 ff. See Appendix 2.

¹⁰¹ De Laet, p. 70, no. 283.

¹⁰² De Laet, p. 92, no. 410.

¹⁰³ The Asian issues must have started at least one year earlier than the African ones, but the permissions for them may none the less have been simultaneous.

¹⁰⁴ *FITA*, p. 229, describes five of these governors as his relatives, omitting the marriage of the sixth, C. Asinius Gallus, to Vipsania; Syme, *RR*, pp. 416, 512.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Syme, *RR*, pp. 373, 379; *FITA*, p. 229.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 228 (references); Mattingly, *NC*, 1946, p. 130, describes this view as “quite convincing.” So does Fink, *CP*, 1949, p. 258.

¹⁰⁷ Though not the *right* of *permissus*, which was the prerogative of certain consular governorships, see p. 31 and n. 115.

authority—as being chiefly, or indeed exclusively, appropriate to such *amici*. That is to say, either the *princeps* indicated to cities that such a limitation was desirable, or, to look at it from a slightly different angle, the only people whom the cities felt impelled to honour to such an extent were those who had obtained this singular distinction.¹⁰⁸

Amicitia principis (like its complement *inimicitia*¹⁰⁹) played a considerable part in the principate of Tiberius. Foremost among his friends was Sejanus, *adiutor* and *socius laborum*,¹¹⁰ linked to the *domus Augusta* by the betrothal of his daughter to the son of Claudius,¹¹¹ and honoured on the coinage of Bilbilis¹¹² and by an *Ara Amicitiae*.¹¹³ Again, Tiberius constituted his *consilium* of his *amici*,¹¹⁴ and chose his companions at Capri from among them. P. Plautius Pulcher illustrates the tendency by adding to his titles those of *comes* (a word closely linked with *amicus*¹¹⁵) of Drusus, the son of Germanicus, and uncle of another Drusus, the son of Claudius.¹¹⁶ Plautius Pulcher and the rest point the way to the *Plantam Iulium amicum et comitem meum*¹¹⁷ and *L. Vestinum familiarissime diligo*¹¹⁸ of Claudian proclamations, and to the *cohors*

¹⁰⁸ For the rôle of *amici principis* at Eastern cities, cf. von Premerstein, pp. 175, 224; Marot, *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis*, 13.1, 1939, has traced some Roman and mediaeval developments of *amicitia*.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. Tac., *Ann.*, III, 12, *privatas inimicitias non vi principis ulciscar*; VI, 9, *Sex. Vistilius convictu principis prohibitus*; cf. II, 70 (Germanicus) *amicitiam ei renuntiabat*; cf. Augustus and Cornelius Gallus, Syme, *RR*, p. 309.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Smith, p. 119; Rogers, p. 139, and *TAPA*, 1941, p. xlii, etc.

¹¹¹ Cf. Kornemann, *GR*, p. 263. Though his own proposed marriage to Livilla, daughter of Drusus sen., was never finally approved, his daughter's marriage made him *Claudia et Iuliae domus partem* (Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 8). See also Addenda.

¹¹² See Appendix 2.

¹¹³ Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 74 (A.D. 28; but the date is questionable).

¹¹⁴ Suet., *Tib.*, 55; cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 408, n. 3, and for a different view of the *consilium* Last, *JRS*, 1943, p. 105.

¹¹⁵ E.g. *ILS*, 206 (Claudius): *amicus et comes meus*. Cf. also *ILS*, 946, *comes Ti. Caesaris Aug. datus ab divo Aug.*, showing that the emperor selected (sc. from among his friends) the *comites* of the young princes. For the later development of *comes* see Nock, *JRS*, 1947, pp. 102 ff.

¹¹⁶ *ILS*, 964, cf. Instinsky, *Philologus*, 1942/3, p. 246.

¹¹⁷ *ILS*, 206, cf. von Premerstein, p. 224.

¹¹⁸ *ILS*, 212, cf. von Premerstein, loc. cit.

primae admissionis of Seneca.¹¹⁹ Under Tiberius, however, we are still in a period when the *amici*, though their political "colour" has been much disputed,¹²⁰ were most frequently, though not invariably, the great officials and ex-officials.¹²¹

The six proconsuls honoured on local coins of Asia and Africa under Augustus had all been *amici principis*, and, in view of their various resemblances to our Tiberian governors, it will not now cause surprise if it can be shown that the latter, too, were *amici* of Tiberius. This was, indeed, the case. Every one of the four governors of Africa recorded on Tiberian local coinages was closely connected with Tiberius. P. Cornelius Dolabella, whose description as *vir simplicitatis generosissimae* by the devoted Tiberian Velleius¹²² illustrates his favoured status at court, was the grand-nephew of Marcella.¹²³ Q. Junius Blaesus—who received the signal honour of the last salutation granted to a proconsul¹²⁴—was the uncle of Sejanus,¹²⁵ whose friends and relations were, in his lifetime, the friends of the *princeps*.¹²⁶ L. Apronius—again *excellenti virtute ac-*

¹¹⁹ *De Clementia*, I, 10.1, cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 385, n. 2. The present writer quotes this phrase in *FITA*, p. 229, but it is very doubtful whether, strictly speaking, it should be applied to the Augustan period there under discussion.

¹²⁰ No attempt will be made here to deal with the controversial question as to how far Tiberius' choice of friends represented a reaction from Augustus or an innovation. For aspects of this view see Syme, *RR*, pp. 383, 414, n. 1, 434, 437; Rogers, *TAPA*, 1940, pp. 534 f.; Levi, *La Politica Imperiale di Roma*, pp. 264, 266 f.; de Laet, p. 276; Cordier, *RPh*, 1943, p. 217. For the view that Tiberius was unfavourable to *nobiles* see de Laet, pp. 251 ff., 261 f., 271 ff.; Ensslin, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1942, p. 1942, p. 481, opposed by Nallis, *AC*, 1942, p. 152; Gelzer, *Gnomon*, 1943, p. 108; Roos, *Museum*, 1942, pp. 200 f.; see also Thiel, *Mnemosyne*, 1935, p. 264, n. 2. Balsdon's view, *JRS*, 1932, p. 243, that Tiberius was not particular about ancestry still seems to hold. This problem is sometimes linked with the general question of Tiberius' "Republicanism" (see last section).

¹²¹ To be distinguished from these great *amici* are the "secretaries" of Tiberius who, though—especially later in the reign—of increased numbers and powers (cf. Scramuzza, *EC*, pp. 84, 257 ff.) and the forerunners of the "Ministers" of Claudius, are still *clientes* rather than *amici* in the present period (*ibid.*, p. 80).

¹²² *II*, 125, 5, cf. *PIR*², *II*, p. 319, no. 1348; de Laet, p. 43, no. 129.

¹²³ Cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 434.

¹²⁴ Cf. Hammond, pp. 205, 220, n. 74, etc.—the last was that of L. Passienus (also honoured on the coinage) in A.D. c. 3 (Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 156, cf. *FITA*, pp. 140, 229—the last passage omitting to mention Blaesus).

¹²⁵ Vell., *II*, 127; cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 437, *PIR*, *II*, 234, 479; de Laet, p. 56, no. 198.

¹²⁶ Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 8: *ut quisque Seiano intimus, ita ad Caesaris amicitiam validus*.

according to Velleius,¹²⁷ and the father of a friend of Sejanus¹²⁸—and C. Vibius Marsus, whose return to Rome with Agrippina¹²⁹ indicates a close, if dangerous, relation with the ruling family, were the fathers-in-law respectively of M. Plautius Silvanus, *amicus principis*,¹³⁰ and of P. Plautius Pulcher, uncle of one imperial Drusus and *comes* of another. Thus all these four proconsuls of Africa possessed the proper qualifications for *amicitia principis*.

The same is true of the three proconsuls recorded almost simultaneously on city-coinages of the other consular senatorial province, Asia. M. Aemilius Lepidus was not only the confidant of Tiberius, but also the father-in-law of Drusus Germanici f. and a grand-nephew by marriage of Augustus.¹³¹ P. Petronius, a proconsul whose tenure was greatly extended—a signal sign of personal confidence received also by C. Vibius Marsus and L. Apronius¹³²—was *vetus convictor Claudii*,¹³³ and finally, Q. Poppaeus Secundus was the brother of C. Poppaeus Sabinus *amicus principum*,¹³⁴ and thus, incidentally, the uncle by marriage of a friend of Sejanus, T. Ollius.¹³⁵ Here, again, are three proconsuls who were “friends” of the ruling house; and so were the only Tiberian governors to be mentioned on coinages in the senatorial provinces of Bithynia and Creta-Cyrenaica.¹³⁶

This very C. Poppaeus Sabinus, *legatus Augusti propraetore* of the whole Balkan province,¹³⁷ provides striking evidence for the association of these numismatic honours, and especially of portrai-

¹²⁷ Vell., II, 116, cf. *PIR*², I, p. 188, no. 971; de Laet, p. 26, no. 39.

¹²⁸ Cf. Marsh, p. 190 (L. Apronius Caesianus).

¹²⁹ Tac., *Ann.*, II, 79; for his importance cf. Marsh, p. 217.

¹³⁰ Von Rohden, *RE*, II, 1, 273 f.; cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 422; *FITA*, p. 229 and n. 11 and p. 388; Instinsky, *Philologus*, 1942/3, p. 245.

¹³¹ Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 40; cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 438, n. 1; *PIR*², I, p. 61, no. 369.

¹³² Cf. de Laet, pp. 293 ff.

¹³³ Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 14, cf. *PIR*, III, p. 26, no. 198; de Laet, p. 70, no. 283.

¹³⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 39; cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 499 and n. 1, *PIR*, III, p. 86, nos. 627, 628.

¹³⁵ Cf. Smith, p. 152.

¹³⁶ P. Vitellius and Cornelius Lupus (*amicus Claudii*): see Appendix 9.

¹³⁷ Cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 397, Groag, *Schriften der Balkankommission*, *Ant. Abt.*, IX, 1939, p. 24, Stein, *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, I, 11, 1940, pp. 18 ff.

ture such as that of L. Apronius, with the imperial *amicitia*. For Sabinus too was given a coin-portrait, but at a peregrine city, namely Aegina.¹³⁸ Just as L. Apronius was the only Tiberian governor to be portrayed by a colony, so Sabinus was apparently the only one to be represented on the coinage of a peregrine city. This unusual honour was fitting, since his tenure of his vast province was the longest even of this reign of long tenures: but it further confirms the view that, as under Augustus, the passport to numismatic honours of this kind was *amicitia principis*. The cities were not slow to appreciate the direction of imperial honour,¹³⁹ and indeed Hippo Diarrhytus, which honours L. Apronius, had been one of the earliest "backers" of Tiberius himself.¹⁴⁰

Nor is this characteristic of *amicitia principis* the last of the features which the issues with governors' names and portraits under Tiberius share with those under Augustus. The Augustan portraits and mentions of African and Asian proconsuls had apparently started in c. 7 B.C., at a time when there was special need of the *amici*. For Agrippa and Nero Drusus were dead; new men were needed to fill the consular posts and, especially, to help ensure the succession for C. Caesar. This was apparently the moment chosen by Augustus for the numismatic celebration of his *amici*. Now, in A.D. 21, the date to which has been ascribed the recurrence of this phenomenon in Africa (following shortly upon Asia) under Tiberius, the *princeps* was again sponsoring a new successor of his own blood, just as Augustus had been in 7 B.C. For Germanicus was dead, and Drusus junior was just beginning to receive greater honours than either he or Germanicus had received while both were alive.¹⁴¹ It was natural for Tiberius, following as usual the precedent of Au-

¹³⁸ See Appendix 9.

¹³⁹ Moreover, our African proconsuls, at least, enjoyed an unusual position owing to their conduct of the war against Tacfarinas. On their special selection and its possible influence on the *auspicia*, see below, p. 60, n. 155, p. 70, n. 224.

¹⁴⁰ *FITA*, p. 224.

¹⁴¹ See below, Chapter III, section ii. For the *ovatio* of Drusus see Rohde, *RE*, XVIII, 2, 1902.

gustus, to choose this moment to allow cities to emphasize his reliance on his *amici* as supporters of the dynasty; and indeed the position of his special *amicus* and *socius laborum*, Sejanus, had just received new definition.¹⁴²

Tiberius' imitation of the precedent of 7 B.C. is also noteworthy in that, at that date, he himself had just been passed over for the inheritance, and was no doubt already contemplating his retirement in the following year. But, in retrospect, Tiberius was quite open about the special position of Gaius and Lucius. For they still received numismatic honours from cities in his reign;¹⁴³ and Velleius is no less frank about their preferred status¹⁴⁴ (though he tries to ascribe this to the modesty of Tiberius¹⁴⁵) than is the *Monumentum Ancyranum* itself.¹⁴⁶ It was characteristic of Tiberius to follow the Augustan precedent with grim perseverance despite the unhappy features that it had possessed for himself;¹⁴⁷ indeed its revival by him may have been part of an attempt to show the public that the theme held no embarrassment for him.

A further point stresses still further the legitimacy of the comparison between the issues inaugurated in c. 7 B.C. and those starting in A.D. c. 21. It has been argued elsewhere that the former, with the important development of the principate that they imply, had been timed to coincide with the *vicennium* of the "restoration of the Republic" in 27 B.C.¹⁴⁸ But A.D. 20-21 was equally one of the greatest anniversary years of the epoch: for it witnessed the half-

¹⁴² Cf. Rogers, p. 139.

¹⁴³ E.g. *FITA*, p. 363 (Pergamum: *BMC, Mysia*, p. 140, no. 250). The same may apply to certain issues for Gaius at other cities also (*FITA*, p. 471).

¹⁴⁴ II, 96. On the Magliano (Heba) Tablet, 1.5 (*NS*, 1948, pp. 49 ff.), they are called *fratr. Ti. Caesaris Aug.*

¹⁴⁵ II, 103.

¹⁴⁶ *RG*, 14.

¹⁴⁷ The present writer, as he hopes to explain elsewhere, does not accept the theory of Gruenwald, *Die römischen Bronze- und Kupfermünzen mit Schlagmarken im Legionslager Vindonissa*, cf. Mattingly, *NC*, 1946, p. 80, that the retirement of Tiberius is shown by countermarks to have been accompanied by some sort of political disturbance among the troops.

¹⁴⁸ *RAI*, Chapter II, section ii.

centenaries of Actium and the capture of Egypt. There is strong reason to believe that major official coinages of Tiberius commemorated this very occasion;¹⁴⁹ so too, in all probability, does our issue of Sinope (no. 53: Plate V, 16), dated to A.D. 19-20. Nor are such commemorations surprising when it is appreciated that anniversaries of Actium and the capture of Egypt were to continue to receive numismatic celebration for centuries to come.¹⁵⁰

We may conclude, then, that Tiberius, with close attention to an Augustan precedent, selected this great Augustan anniversary to authorise, or to allow, Roman colonies in Africa to honour his friends who were governors of that province. This honour took the form of a record of their *permissus*, and in the first instance, of portrayal. Moreover, it may well have been as a result of a similar authorisation that the peregrine cities of Asia—the only other consular senatorial province—began a little earlier to record their proconsuls also; and the latter too were all *amici principis*. The coins of these Asian cities were of course Greek. Indeed, outside Africa, only one Tiberian governor has a *permissus* recorded on a Latin coinage.¹⁵¹ This was another consular, Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus, *legatus Augusti propraetore* in Syria¹⁵²—yet again an *amicus principis*.¹⁵³

B. THE AUSPICES OF TIBERIUS

The last subsection has endeavoured to show that the proconsuls of Africa, L. Apronius and the rest, were linked to Tiberius by the powerful bond of *amicitia*. It remains, however, to consider their *official* relationship with him. The present coinage is not informative regarding this matter, which will however be discussed here since it is vital for an understanding of their position.

¹⁴⁹ *RAI*, Chapter III, section iii.

¹⁵⁰ *RAI*, Chapter VIII, section i (summary).

¹⁵¹ For this right in regard to colonial coinage is a prerogative of consular governors of both sorts of province, see above, p. 31 and n. 115.

¹⁵² *FITA*, p. 260; cf. below, Appendix 9.

¹⁵³ *PIR*², II, p. 10, no. 64; his daughter Junia was betrothed to Nero Germanici f.

This discussion will be divided into three parts. First, it will be confirmed that these senior proconsuls governed and fought under the auspices of Tiberius. Secondly, it will be argued that these auspices were not, in so far as they affected Africa (the one senatorial province still to possess an army¹⁵⁴), linked with an *imperium* relating to that same sphere. Thirdly, it will be concluded that, in such a territory, their link was rather with the religious ideas represented by the name "Augustus" and its quality *auctoritas*.

As regards the first of these points,¹⁵⁵ there is both epigraphic and literary evidence in favour of the view that the consulars who were proconsuls of Africa, despite the *auctoritas* which enabled them to authorise local coinages,¹⁵⁶ operated under the auspices of the *princeps*. Thus Velleius Paterculus, describing the war fought by our present governors against Tacfarinas, writes: *bellum Africanum . . . auspiciis consiliisque eius* (sc. *Ti. Caesaris Augusti*) *brevi sepultum est*.¹⁵⁷ *Brevi* is too flattering, but a contemporary historian like Velleius, who presented the official view, was not very likely to say that the *auspicia* for these campaigns belonged to Tiberius unless this was so.¹⁵⁸ (Moreover an inscription describes the latest previous victories in Africa, those of A.D. c. 6, as *auspiciis Imp. Caesaris Aug. pontificis maximi patris patriae, ductu Cossi Lentuli*.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Until A.D. 38 (M. Junius Silanus), cf. Hammond, p. 230, n. 10. In this respect the parallel with Asia cannot be maintained. In a large part of the reign of Augustus, however, though not under Tiberius, the proconsul of Macedonia still possessed troops, cf. now Syme, *JRS*, 1945, p. 110. This is still often ignored, e.g. by Siber, *Abh. Leipzig*, XLIV, 2, 1940 (see Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 155); and Schönbauer, *SB Wien*, 224, 2, 1946, p. 92, wrongly talks of an imperial "monopoly" of the army from the outset.

¹⁵⁵ It does not seem possible to distinguish between auspices for peace and auspices for war, cf. Wissowa, *RE*, 2, 2584; though it is possible that the question arose in an acute form because this was now the only senatorial province in which wars were waged, and it is even conceivable that the imperial auspices were particularly involved in the appointments of proconsuls for such purposes *extra ordinem auctoritate principis* (cf. Smith, pp. 184 ff.), as seems to be implied by *PIR*², II, p. 334. Cf. n. 224.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. above, p. 31 and n. 115, p. 59.

¹⁵⁷ II, 129.

¹⁵⁸ Metaphorical usages of *auspicio* which begin to appear at this time do not seem relevant to the present case since they are concerned with initiation, and particularly the initiation of a career or office, e.g. Vell., II, 101, *quem militiae gradum ante . . . auspiciatus*, cf. Sen., *Ep.*, 47, 10.

¹⁵⁹ *AE*, 1940, no. 68; *PIR*², II, p. 333, no. 1380; Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 156.

It may be possible to compare the status of Cossus Cornelius Lentulus with that of the Tiberian proconsuls; for Tiberius is unlikely to have harnessed his senior governors with any constitutional limitation not existing in the last years of Augustus.¹⁶⁰ There is, however, no absolute proof that Cossus Lentulus was a proconsul, and the present writer has elsewhere favoured the view that he was rather *legatus Augusti propraetore*, on the assumption that the province was transferred temporarily to the *princeps*;¹⁶¹ but Syme considers Cossus Lentulus to have been proconsul of Africa.¹⁶² Now the governors who are described by Velleius as fighting under the auspices of Tiberius were certainly proconsuls and not *legati*,¹⁶³ so that it may be concluded that, at this period at least, proconsuls of Africa operated under the auspices of the *princeps*.

The superiority of the *auspicia principis* might indicate either that the proconsuls possessed some form of *auspicia minora*,¹⁶⁴ i.e. *minora vis-à-vis* the *princeps*, or that they possessed no *auspicatio* at all. Great vicegerents like Germanicus and Drusus, at least while operating in the West,¹⁶⁵ seem to have possessed a sort of *auspicia minora*,¹⁶⁶ but even if this were certain it would prove nothing as regards the ordinary proconsuls: for the vicegerents in the West had started to rise above the proconsuls ever since the former had

¹⁶⁰ Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 156; cf. Hammond, p. 232, n. 31.

¹⁶¹ *FITA*, p. 143.

¹⁶² *RR*, p. 435, n. 9; *JRS*, 1946, p. 156; *PIR*², II, p. 334.

¹⁶³ Siber, *Abh. Leipzig*, XLIV, 2, 1940, pp. 23, 32, 85, attempts to assimilate the two categories of official from the earliest imperial period, but this is wrong: cf. Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 155, "the legal disparity between a proconsul and a legate of Augustus is clear and fundamental."

¹⁶⁴ *Auspicia minora* in the proper sense were the auspices belonging to magistrates other than the consuls, praetors and censors, who possessed *auspicia maiora* (cf. Messalla, *De Auspiciis*, ap. Gell., XIII, 15, 4, Wissowa, *RE*, II, 2583). But the proconsuls, as counterparts of consuls, were too senior to have these *auspicia minora* (unless the original sense was modified). However, there were also differences of grade even within the *auspicia maiora* (Val. Max. II, 8, 2, Messalla, Wissowa, 11.cc.). For the *auspicia maiora* see also Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 285, and especially Hågerström, pp. 8, 10 f.

¹⁶⁵ For the position of the vicegerents see Appendix 10, p. 166.

¹⁶⁶ See Appendix 10. But not, apparently, ordinary *legati Augusti pro praetore*: cf. Pease, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 126.

begun to receive the *triumphalia ornamenta* (probably in 20 B.C.),¹⁶⁷ salutations and even triumphs (9 B.C.),¹⁶⁸ which the latter did not obtain after 19 B.C.¹⁶⁹ Thus the possession by the Western vicegerents of the *auspicia minora* would not imply that the proconsuls possessed them too, and the latter question must be left open.

If, however, Augustus allowed these proconsuls no auspices at all, he had Republican precedents. For in the late Republic, as Cicero informs us—if not earlier¹⁷⁰—*auspicatio* had become so neglected that even wars were fought by proconsuls and propraetors *qui auspicia non habent*,¹⁷¹ that is to say, by governors operating without having taken, and thus without having, the auspices.¹⁷² A Republican and ritualist like Augustus, who devoted special attention to the college of augurs,¹⁷³ was by no means the man to condone carelessness; but the fact that it had occurred, and that proconsuls had become accustomed to lack the auspices, made it easier for the omission to continue. So his proconsuls may not only have been under his superior auspices, but may—though this cannot be considered certain—have entirely lacked *auspicatio* themselves.

However, by Republican practice, if they lacked *auspicatio*, it was right for someone else to take it on their behalf: as Cicero tells us, technically speaking (in the old days) “nothing” had been done without the auspices.¹⁷⁴ It is not at all astonishing that Augustus should have emphasised this characteristic feature of *mos mai-*

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Abaecherli Boyce, *CP*, 1942, pp. 134 f.; for the *ornamenta* see Borszák, *RE*, XVIII, 1, 1121 f.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. *FITA*, p. 429 and nn. 9, 10 (Tiberius and Nero Drusus)—after refusals in c. 12 B.C.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 156, etc. (L. Cornelius Balbus).

¹⁷⁰ This seems to be implied by Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 152.

¹⁷¹ *De Divinatione*, II, 76; cf. *De Natura Deorum*, II, 3, 9, and Mommsen, *St. R.*, I³, p. 101, n. 1, Levi, *RRIL*, 1938, *Estr.*, pp. 2 ff.

¹⁷² Cf. Wissowa, *RE*, II, 2583, doubting Mommsen's view (*St. R.*, I³, p. 92, and n. 1) that, despite the passages of Cicero, promagistrates “automatically” possessed the auspices. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 100, n. 3, quotes Servius, *Aen.*, II, 178, regarding *ad hoc* measures that were sometimes taken to hold *auspicatio* abroad instead of, as was proper, on the Capitol.

¹⁷³ See now Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, pp. 297 ff.

¹⁷⁴ *De Divinatione*, I, 3.

orum;¹⁷⁵ and the words attributed to Ap. Claudius by Livy, who interpreted so much of Augustan official thought, convey the same suggestion—*auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse, auspiciis bello ac pace domi militiaeque omnia geri, quis est qui ignoret?*¹⁷⁶

It is not surprising, then, that mention of the *auspicia* should occur on an Augustan inscription and in Tiberian literature. But since the proconsuls lacked them or only possessed *auspicia minora*, to whom should the responsibility fall? As regards Republican precedent, Cicero answers this question rather vaguely. In such circumstances, he says, *ab urbanis retenta videtur*.¹⁷⁷ In the Republic, in such circumstances, the *urbani* could variously be interpreted as the Roman people or as the senate; for while we read (in spite of the patrician origin of the institution¹⁷⁸) *a populo auspicia accepta habemus*,¹⁷⁹ we also hear of circumstances in which the *auspicia* belonged, or returned, to the senate,¹⁸⁰ with which they are closely linked by Cicero as the *duo firmamenta* of the State of Romulus.¹⁸¹ But here we find that our African proconsuls of the early principate present an innovation. For, even if they lacked *auspicatio* altogether, there is no question of the auspices returning to the senate or people, since they are demonstrably operating under the auspices of the *princeps*; and that, it is clear, is the answer to the first of the three questions with which it is the aim of this discussion to deal.

The second question relates to the *imperium*,¹⁸² and it will be

¹⁷⁵ For list of references to this, see H. Volkmann, *Mos maiorum als Grundzug des augusteischen Prinzipats* (*Das Neue Bild der Antike*, II).

¹⁷⁶ VI, 41.

¹⁷⁷ *De Divinatione*, II, 77.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Greenidge, p. 40, n. 1.

¹⁷⁹ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, II, 77; cf. Hägerström, p. 11, on Livy, VII.6.10.

¹⁸⁰ Cicero, *De Legibus*, III, 9; cf. Homo, *Roman Political Institutions*, p. 100, Mommsen, *St. R.*, I³, p. 90.

¹⁸¹ *De Republica*, II, 17. Here the question of "transmission" from a predecessor, stressed by Homo, *op. cit.*, p. 34, does not arise.

¹⁸² For a theory of the nature of *imperium* see now Wagenvoort, *Imperium* (cf. *Roman Dynamism*) and reviews, e.g. *Museum*, 1942, p. 214; *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1942/3, p. 58; *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1942, p. 930; *Gnomon*, 1943, p.

suggested here that the *auspicia*, by which Tiberius was superior to the proconsuls of Africa, were not linked with an *imperium* relating to the same area. The possession of these auspices by the *princeps* does not automatically prove an *imperium maius* in relation to the said proconsuls. Such an assumption would require too facile an assimilation of *auspicia* and *imperium*. When Greenidge wrote "the *imperium* and *auspicia* are indissolubly connected,"¹⁸³ his words might be held to imply, first, that some original link had existed between them, secondly, that the one could not exist without the other, and, thirdly, that a man operating under another's auspices was necessarily also operating under his *imperium*. But the two last of these implications may not have been intended,¹⁸⁴ and in any case, none of them may be legitimate. For, in the first place, an original link between the *ius magistratus* and *ius auspiciorum* is not yet proved.¹⁸⁵ Secondly, certain magistrates, who did not possess *imperium*, none the less had the auspices¹⁸⁶—notably the censors.¹⁸⁷ Conversely we know, from a passage of Cicero that has already been quoted, of possessors of *imperium*, proconsuls and propraetors, *qui auspicia non habent* (in rather the same way as a magistrate who was appointed on a *dies nefastus* remained, technically speaking, none the less a magistrate).¹⁸⁸ Neither *imperium* nor *auspicatio* were, in practice, unable to apply to a given area without the other. It is true that Augustus and Tiberius originally obtained the auspices in connection with their *imperium*, but it

204; *RPh*, 1943, p. 99; *AC*, 1942; *Egyetemes Phil. Közlöny*, 1943, p. 253; see also Heuss, *Sav. Z.*, 1944, pp. 57 ff.

¹⁸³ P. 162.

¹⁸⁴ Thus Greenidge himself qualifies his statement later, p. 165.

¹⁸⁵ Ericsson, *ARW*, 1936, p. 302, against Hägerström, pp. 5 ff.

¹⁸⁶ Gag  , *RH*, 1933, p. 3; Levi, *RRIL*, 1938, *Estr.*, pp. 2 ff.; Wissowa, *RE*, II, 2, 2583.

¹⁸⁷ Mommsen, *St. R.*, I³, p. 92, cf. Hägerstr  m, p. 11. The same may apply also to the *pontifex maximus*, if Mommsen, *ibid.* and *op. cit.*, II³, p. 20, is right (as Wissowa, *RE*, II, 2584, doubts) in ascribing to him the auspices; for he did not possess the *imperium*, Rosenberg, *RE*, IX, 1207, against Mommsen, 11.cc.

¹⁸⁸ Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, VI, 30, cf. Hägerstr  m, p. 5. For the connection of *nefastus* with augural procedure, see *Fragm. XII Tab. ap. Cic., De Legibus*, II, 8.

does not follow that the scope of the two properties remained co-terminous.¹⁸⁹ The possession, therefore, by Augustus and Tiberius of auspices comprising Africa does not necessarily warrant the conclusion that the same province was comprised in their *imperium* also. It would be equally dangerous to deduce subordination to an *imperium maius* from the lack of auspices,¹⁹⁰ or possession of inferior auspices, by the Augustan and Tiberian proconsuls; the more so since *maius* and *minus* do not mean the same when applied to *imperium* as they do when applied to the auspices. Mention has already been made of the *auspicia maiora* and *minora*,¹⁹¹ and, without the intrusion of prejudice based on the scope of the auspices of Augustus and Tiberius, something will now be said about the term *imperium maius* as applied to their relation to proconsuls.

It has been customary to believe in the existence of such an *imperium maius*; but the present writer has opposed the view that Augustus possessed such a power.¹⁹² Last,¹⁹³ commenting on this approach, distinguishes between two types of *imperium maius*.¹⁹⁴ He describes as Type B ("active") "cases where, in the presence of an *imperium maius*, holders of *imperia minora* were relieved of the ultimate responsibility for their official acts and where this responsibility passed to the holder of the *maius imperium*, under whose general direction they were now placed." He agrees that, from 27 B.C., Augustus had no such power. That is to say, he did not control his proconsuls in the same active sense as Caesar, Brutus and the

¹⁸⁹ It remains, no doubt, technically true that the *auspicia* should have been an indispensable precondition of *imperium*, cf. Levi, *RRIL*, 1938, *Estr.*, p. 7; as in early times, Livy, IV, 7, VIII, 23, cf. Ericsson, *ARW*, 1936, pp. 299 f.

¹⁹⁰ Rightly enough, no one has attempted to deduce from Cicero, *De Divinatione*, II, 76, that he is only referring to those promagistrates who served under someone else's *imperium maius*. See above, p. 62 and n. 171.

¹⁹¹ The material is collected by Hägerström, pp. 8, 10 f.

¹⁹² *FITA*, pp. 424 ff. This question is further discussed in *SWC*.

¹⁹³ *JRS*, 1947, pp. 157 ff.

¹⁹⁴ In *SWC* it is suggested that a criticism of the present writer's terminology in this respect by Mattingly, *NC*, 1946, p. 132 (cf., more mildly—"légères réserves"—de Laet, *AC*, 1946, p. 373, Sutherland, *CR*, 1947, p. 116) is only justified in that a distinction should be made between two main types as by Last (or perhaps more than two).

triumvirs had controlled theirs; and Tiberius was even more careful that this should be clear.¹⁹⁵

There remains Last's Type A ("passive") of *imperium maius*. An example of this category is the relationship of the *imperia* of a consul and a praetor. "This sort of relation . . . is one which, though it gave to the holder of the former the right to impose his will on the holder of the latter, did not imply that these two normally had any official dealings with one another and did not place any responsibility on the one for the acts of the other, but merely served to eliminate, if ever the two did come into contact, the danger of deadlock through the opposition of two equal constitutional forces."¹⁹⁶ Last does not feel that the present writer has proved that the *princeps* lacked this weaker or "passive" version of *imperium maius* in his dealings with proconsuls. He does not make an assertion to the contrary, but leaves the question open.¹⁹⁷ Here it will only be observed, in parenthesis, that a kindred doctrine (in regard to the same period) to that of the *imperium maius* in senatorial provinces, namely the no less established belief in the *imperium maius* of Augustus vis-à-vis the great vicegerents in the East, has received opposition which needs to be seriously considered and may prove conclusive.¹⁹⁸ However, this is not the place to discuss the latter question

¹⁹⁵ He allowed the proconsul Q. Junius Blaesus a salutation (cf. Hammond, pp. 205, 220, n. 74), and was not averse to proconsuls granting *dona militaria* (Tac., *Ann.*, III, 21, cf. Hammond, p. 232, n. 31, Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 156). The dealings of Tiberius with the proconsuls of Africa do not prove *imperium maius*, Smith, p. 184, n. 7, cf. McFayden, *CP*, 1921, p. 40. The point of Tacitus' sneer *iussa principis magis quam incerta belli metuens* (*Ann.*, IV, 23) might well point in the opposite direction, cf. *FITA*, p. 441.

¹⁹⁶ In a sense such distinctions could be made even between officials of the same rank; e.g. Festus *praetores maiores et minores . . . ad vim imperii*, cf. Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 266, n. 2.

¹⁹⁷ Op. cit., p. 163: "about these conclusions every student must form his own judgment for himself."

¹⁹⁸ Piganiol, *Journal des Savants*, 1937, p. 15 (as regards Agrippa), and (more generally) Magdelain, pp. 73 f., believe that their *imperium* was not "secondary" but equal to his, and that he was their superior only in *auctoritas*. The present writer, in *FITA*, pp. 427, 429, 445, had in one respect come to a similar conclusion, in that he did not believe these vicegerents either to be proconsuls subordinated by *imperium maius*, or to subordinate proconsuls by an *imperium maius* of their own; but he suggested instead that they were *legati Augusti propraetore* and that all areas in their control temporarily formed part of the imperial *provincia*.

—though, as regards the principate of Tiberius, the position of Germanicus needs careful consideration¹⁹⁹—and equally no attempt will be made to answer Last's query about the relationship of the *princeps* to ordinary proconsuls; since for the present purpose his agreement that there was no "active" (Type B) *imperium maius* is enough.

For the alternative kind of *imperium maius*, the "passive" (Type A) variety, if it existed, could not have been enough to justify the *auspicatio* of the *princeps* in regard to the proconsuls of Africa. For it cannot be said that possession of the auspices, under which another man is acting, "did not place any responsibility on the one for the acts of the other." On the contrary, the *auspicator*, as Augustus had been careful to insist in regard to M. Licinius Crassus,²⁰⁰ was directly responsible for the acts of those operating under his *auspicia*.²⁰¹ But the *imperium* of Augustus and Tiberius in relation to Africa, since no more than "Type A," cannot have comprised so high a degree of subordination; so the answer to the second question posed in this discussion is that this *imperium* was not the power on which their auspices in regard to that province were based.²⁰² In this as in other respects, in modern times, the *imperium* of the early principate has been over-estimated, not of course in regard to the threat which underlay it, but as an ingredient of the constitutional adjustments of 27 and 23 B.C. on which the systems of Augustus and Tiberius were founded.²⁰³ Augustus himself made no

¹⁹⁹ See Appendix 10.

²⁰⁰ Dio 51, 25, cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 308, n. 2; Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 125; von Premerstein, p. 253; and especially Groag, *RE*, 13 (58), 270 ff.

²⁰¹ Cf. Wissowa, *RE*, II, 2583.

²⁰² In *SWC* it is similarly argued that the "passive" version of *imperium maius*, if this is what Augustus possessed, can scarcely have been potent enough to constitute the legal basis for official gold and silver coinage in a senatorial province.

²⁰³ Cf. *FITA*, pp. 424 ff., Schönbauer, *SB Wien*, 224, 2, 1946, p. 112 (*procos. imp.* "ist . . . als wesentliches Element des Prinzipates abzulehnen"), de Laet, *AC*, 1943, pp. 150 ff. (of Siber), etc.; de Laet, *ibid.*, 1946, pp. 371 ff., considers that the present writer errs in the opposite direction, but for reasons contested in *Greece and Rome*, 1949, pp. 102 ff., 104 ff. Sutherland, *CR*, 1947, p. 115, is rightly representing a view of part of the Roman public, but presumably not that of the governing class, when he suggests that, as early as Augustus, the distinction between action by one power or another "must often have been a vaporous one."

such mistake when, with his usual adherence to formal truth rather than to concealed sanctions of force, he made no mention whatever of *imperium* in connection with these two occasions.²⁰⁴

For they were principally concerned with quite other ideas; and these bring us to our third question, namely the real character of the imperial auspices in regard to Africa. The chief feature of the second reform, that of 23 B.C., had nothing to do with *imperium*, but was the completion of executive machinery (tribunician power) enabling the *princeps*, now no longer consul, to exercise his *auctoritas* in the senate.²⁰⁵ This connection with *auctoritas* links the reform of 23 B.C. with that of 27 B.C.,²⁰⁶ in which the *princeps*, by resigning from the consulship, may be said to have terminated over twenty years of autocratic military commands and established a façade of *auctoritas*.²⁰⁷ The central symbol of the change of 27 B.C. had been the conferment of the name "Augustus,"²⁰⁸ a word which is so closely linked with *auctoritas* in language and meaning that Magdelain, with much plausibility, stresses that the former was in a sense the titular expression of the latter.²⁰⁹ Thus it became the symbol of the new régime, just as in the preceding years the *praenomen Imperatoris* (now of changed significance²¹⁰) had been the

²⁰⁴ RG, 1, only refers to the original conferment of 43 B.C.; cf. FITA, p. 418, etc. *Imperium* was not everything: the senior augurs took precedence over its holders, cf. Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 253, and n. 3. See also Addenda.

²⁰⁵ Cf. FITA, pp. 446 ff.; favourably received by most reviewers, cf. Chapter I, section ii, subsection C. Instinsky, *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, I, 1947, wrongly ascribes to the present writer the description of the tribunician power "als einen Ausfluss der *auctoritas*."

²⁰⁶ Vallejo, *Emerita*, 1946, pp. 406 f., while agreeing with the other constitutional conclusions of FITA, doubts its interpretation of the years 27-23 B.C.

²⁰⁷ For the erroneous beliefs that this became a legalised institution or magistracy or source of law in 27 B.C. or A.D. 13, see FITA, p. 426, *Greece and Rome*, loc. cit., p. 112, n. 2.

²⁰⁸ This did not constitute a legalised institution or magistracy, FITA, p. xvi, against Staedler, *Sav. Z.*, 1941, pp. 101 ff., 119. It was only "legalised" in so far as (according to Velleius, II, 91, 1, Dio 53, 16, 6—though not RG, 34, which only refers to the *senatusconsultum*, which was still an *auctoritas* and not a source of law) it was a name conferred on Augustus by the Roman people (cf. Stuart Jones, *CAH*, X, p. 130, n. 2).

²⁰⁹ Pp. 60-63. One of a number of brief earlier expressions of the same idea is that of Piganiol, *Journal des Savants*, 1937, p. 164, n. 5. For other recent discussions of the name see Wagenvoort, pp. 12 ff., and especially Schönbauer, *SB Wien*, 224, 2, 1946, pp. 65 ff.; for some other references FITA, p. 444, n. 5.

²¹⁰ Cf. above, p. 47.

titular expression and symbol of the previous régime of autocratic *imperium maius infinitum*.²¹¹ Thus "Augustus" and *auctoritas* were the formulae of the new order.

Now certain Roman authorities, bearing in mind the kinship of these words with *augurium*²¹² (another conception much stressed by the *princeps*²¹³ and indeed closely linked with his rôle²¹⁴) believed—though wrongly—that a close etymological connection likewise existed between "Augustus," and a word already almost synonymous with augury,²¹⁵ namely *auspicium*.²¹⁶ Thus Festus wrote (perhaps in the second century) *augustus locus sanctus, ab avium gestu . . . sive ab avium gust[at]u*.²¹⁷ Suetonius, too, or his scholiast, describes the name "Augustus" as follows: *quod loca . . . in quibus augurato quid consecratur augusta dicantur, ab auctu vel ab avium gestu gustuve*,²¹⁸ etc.—the latter suggestion, like that of Festus, wrongly comparing "Augustus" with the root *avi-* of *auspicium*.

Now etymology, accurate or otherwise, was very fashionable and influential under the first *princeps*; and Festus, indeed, goes back to the most learned of Augustan scholars, Verrius Flaccus, the tutor of the *domus principis* itself. Thus it seems to the present writer that this false etymology, linking the *auspicia* with the very bases of the Augustan régime, explains the official origins of the imperial auspices in regard to territories for which active *imperium maius* was lacking. The believed connection "Augustus"—*auspicium* indicates that the *princeps* could be considered the holder of the

²¹¹ *FITA*, pp. 411 ff.

²¹² Cf. Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 483, *FITA*, p. 425, n. 14, Heuss, *Sav. Z.*, 1944, p. 83, n. 57, "Vermehrungsritualisten," etc. Rival etymologies of "Augustus" are quoted there, cf. also A. E. Glauning, *Festschrift für O. Glauning*, p. 58, n. 1, Wagenvoort, p. 17, n. 2.

²¹³ See now Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, pp. 297 ff.

²¹⁴ Magdelain, p. 59, n. 3, is unwilling to accept this view (stressed by Muller and Gag ) except in the vaguer sense of a common venerability "abstraction faite de toute nuance augurale plus pr cise"; but this is an underestimate.

²¹⁵ Cf. Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 285, n. 5, Wagenvoort, p. 38.

²¹⁶ Cf. Gag , *RH*, 1933, p. 5.

²¹⁷ P. 93 (L.) (Paul. Diac.), cf. Levi, *RRIL*, 1938, *Estr.*, pp. 15 ff.

²¹⁸ Suet., *Aug.*, 7, cf. Gag , *MAH*, 1930, pp. 139, n. 1, 157, Alf ldi, *R m. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 25. See also Addenda.

auspicia (not necessarily any longer coterminous with the *imperium*) in an entirely special sense comparable to the unique quality of his name "Augustus." It was inferred that the full auspical authority of Romulus, originator of *auspicatio*,²¹⁹ greatly in vogue after Actium,²²⁰ and returned to him;²²¹ and Gagé rightly concludes not only that the auspices were a most prominent feature of the *statio principis*, but, without speaking of *imperium*, that "son droit d'auspication s'étend . . . à l'empire."²²² Nock comments on this development as follows: "The fact that subordinates fought under his (sc. an emperor's) *auspicia*, not their own, may well have implied from early in the principate that the ruler was credited with potentialities operating beyond the range of his presence and even of his directives."²²³ That is no way of describing *imperium*, but refers to the religious ideas underlying the new system. The "potentialities" were those inherent in the régime of *auctoritas* expressed and sanctified by the name "Augustus"; and it seems that by the time of Tiberius, the imperial auspices based on these ideas had come, regardless of any geographical limitations of his *imperium* with which they had first of all been associated, to extend their validity even to African proconsuls such as those who are mentioned on our coinages.²²⁴ This idea of the auspices may have become clarified after the Parthian "success" of 20 B.C.; and from 12 B.C. onwards

²¹⁹ Cf. Gagé, *MAH*, 1931, p. 96, n. 1, Levi, *RRIL*, 1938, *Estr.*, p. 5, n. 2. But, "Numa" invented the *auspicia maiora* and the *augurium Salutis*; cf. Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, pp. 285, 298 and section iv, subsection A.

²²⁰ Cf. von Premerstein, p. 11 (whose Augustan interpretation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus is, however, doubted by Kahrstedt, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1938, p. 6); Kornemann, *Klio*, 1938, p. 82, id., *Bericht über den IV. Internationalen Kongress für Archäologie in 1939*, p. 471; Borszák, *Archivum Philologicum*, 1943, pp. 180 f.; *FITA*, p. 424.

²²¹ Cf. Gagé, *MAH*, 1930, p. 164, Levi, *RRIL*, 1938, *Estr.*, p. 17, and n. 13.

²²² *MAH*, 1930, p. 167, cf. *RH*, 1933, p. 33.

²²³ *JRS*, 1947, p. 114.

²²⁴ This is relevant to the possibility (see n. 155) that the influence of the imperial auspices over Cossus Cornelius Lentulus may be due to his appointment *extra ordinem*: for actions *extra ordinem* were *auctoritate principis* (cf. von Premerstein, pp. 107 ff.), as is specifically stated in the appointment of one of our Tiberian proconsuls Junius Blaesus, Tac., *Ann.*, III, 35 (*nominatio* of two candidates; cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 644).

the religious authority of the *princeps* was formally enhanced by the high-priesthood²²⁵—of which the emblems are prominently displayed, in connection with the *princeps*, on one of the coins honouring proconsuls (no. 20: Plate II, 7).²²⁶

But though the important features of the imperial auspices seem traceable to the principate of Augustus, there is every reason to suppose that they were maintained by Tiberius. He was accustomed to maintaining Augustan institutions; he also paid scrupulous attention to religious custom and ritual.²²⁷ In particular, there is evidence indicating his attention to *auspicatio*. He took his own augurate seriously,²²⁸ and the same title often figures after the name of Germanicus,²²⁹ whom he sharply reminded of augural taboo.²³⁰ In the absence of Tiberius his deputy in the high-priesthood was Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, the *augur maximus*.²³¹ Also, as part of a general interest in the Trojan myth,²³² Tiberius continued the Augustan attention to Romulus, whose picture, together with that of Aeneas,²³³ was probably placed in the new temple of Divus Augustus,²³⁴ as well as being carried at the funeral of Drusus junior.²³⁵ There was no danger of the imperial *auspicia* no longer being taken seriously;²³⁶ and there is no reason to suppose that Vel-

²²⁵ See Appendix 11.

²²⁶ Cf. above, p. 45. See also Addenda.

²²⁷ Cf. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 447, n. 2 (references).

²²⁸ Cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 615; and for his *augurium salutis*, Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 305.

²²⁹ *ILS*, 107, 173, 174, 176-178, 222 and references in Smith, p. 64, n. 19.

²³⁰ Tac., *Ann.*, I, 62, cf. Weber, I, p. 47, n. 210a, Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 31, n. 2, Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 618, n. 2; see also Appendix 10.

²³¹ Tac., *Ann.*, III, 58 f., cf. Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 254.

²³² Cf. Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 144.

²³³ For comparisons of the exploits of Germanicus to those of Aeneas see Savage, *Classical Journal*, 1938/9, pp. 237 ff. Aeneas may also appear on the Paris cameo, cf. Piganiol, *Essai sur les Jeux Romains*, p. 60, Gag , *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 19, n. 2.

²³⁴ Cf. Gag , *MAH*, 1930, p. 164, Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 176.

²³⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 9, cf. Savage, *Classical Journal*, 1938/9, p. 238, n. 2.

²³⁶ Suet., *Tib.*, 69 (cf. Thiel, *Mnemosyne*, 1935, p. 260, n. 2), strangely calls Tiberius *circa deos ac religiones neglegentior*. This must be based either on his expul-

leius, in mentioning them, did not mean what he said.

It may be concluded, then, that under Tiberius, as under Augustus, our proconsuls of Africa—who all enjoyed the *amicitia* of the *princeps*—were subordinate to his auspices; but that these auspices, in relation to that province, were thought of as linked not with *imperium* but with the religious conceptions embodied in the words “Augustus” and *auctoritas*.

(iii) Mars, *Victoria*, *Felicitas*

In his association of the *auspicia principis* with “potentialities operating beyond the range of his presence and even of his directives”—quoted in the last subsection—Nock²³⁷ relates this idea, in pursuance of the studies of Gag  ,²³⁸ to the *Victoria Augusti*: “So later he came to be credited with a continuous attribute of Victory, as distinct from whatever was seen behind this or that success in the field.” This, then, is a theme which directly arises from that of the auspices; and it is also one which is not unconnected with our present colonial coinages. For the Tiberian revival of the numismatic commemoration of the great proconsuls by African and Asian cities—in honour of Apronius, Blaesus, Dolabella, Secundus and Lepidus—seems to have been timed to coincide not only with the emergence of a new heir, but also with the half-centenary of the crowning victory of Augustus. But, even before this anniversary occurred, the second *princeps* had already, in a very special sense, asserted his succession to the *Victoria Augusti* by claiming the credit for the victories of Germanicus.²³⁹

sion of the Chaldeans, etc., in spite of his personal interest in them (cf. Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 496), or on his careful moderation in the cult of Divus Augustus.

²³⁷ *JRS*, 1947, p. 114.

²³⁸ See references in the course of this section; the theme recurs in *RA*, xxxii, 1930, xxxiv, 1931, *MAH*, 1930-1932, 1936, *RH*, 1933, 1936. The later of these articles do not figure in the bibliography of *CAH*. On Gag  ’s views see the comments of Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, III, p. xxxix, and Durry, *REA*, 1940 (*M  langes Radet*), p. 415. The present writer has not seen M. Kovaceva, *Victoria, Prometej* (Sofia), VI, 1941/2, pp. 69 ff.

²³⁹ Cf. Gag  , *RA*, XXXII, 1930, pp. 5 ff. Tiberius was the greatest living general, cf. Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 44, n. 74.

One of our cities, *colonia* Paestum, exemplifies the special emphasis on this theme under Tiberius by illustrating, among the few types of its coinage, both *Victoria* and the deity most closely associated with her,²⁴⁰ Mars—and in each case in more than one guise. On some pieces Mars seems to carry a *hasta*(?) and *parazonium* (Plate I, 7)²⁴¹ whereas on another the *hasta* (if this is what it is) is exchanged for a *vexillum* (no. 6 and variant: Plate I, 8 and 9). The *parazonium* and *vexillum* have both appeared with Mars under Augustus, combined on a single coin of about 16 B.C.²⁴² On another Augustan piece of a moneyer (who is certainly of 16 B.C.), on which Mars carries *hasta* and *parazonium*, the god stands on a pedestal²⁴³ as on one of the Paestan variants of Tiberius (no. 6 var.: Plate I, 9). Thus the relation between these colonial issues and the mintages of c. 16 B.C. is a particularly close one.²⁴⁴

The relationship between Mars on the official Augustan issues of 16 B.C. and Mars on the Paestan coinages of Tiberius is emphasized by the rarity of this god on coinages of the immediately succeeding principates. The *parazonium*, emblem closely associated with *Virtus*,²⁴⁵ is not found again with Mars on the official coinage at least until Nero²⁴⁶ and possibly until the Flavians. Likewise the *vexillum*, soon to become the imperial standard,²⁴⁷ is not again seen with this god on official issues until Vitellius—in the centenary year of Actium.²⁴⁸ As far as is known, *vexillum* and *parazonium* do not

²⁴⁰ Gagé, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 34.

²⁴¹ The interpretation as *hasta* must not, however, be pressed owing to the scrappy execution and preservation of the coins.

²⁴² *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 76, no. 438, cf. Sutherland, *NC*, 1945, p. 66.

²⁴³ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 16, no. 86.

²⁴⁴ Possibly the former celebrate an anniversary of the latter (like official coinages of A.D. c. 34, *RAI*, Chapter III, section ii), i.e., of the secular games of 17 B.C. with which the issues of the following year were explicitly connected (*BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 17, no. 89).

²⁴⁵ Cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. clxxiii. See also Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 66.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 204, no. 27—but considered by Mattingly, loc. cit., to represent *Virtus* rather than Mars.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Rostovtzeff, *JRS*, 1942, p. 93 (n. 2 references).

²⁴⁸ Cf. *RAI*, Chapter IV, section 3.

appear together at Rome between Augustus and Vespasian.²⁴⁹

Thus the appearance of these emblems with the Mars of Paestum under Tiberius does not happen to be paralleled under his Julio-Claudian successors; but it links the usages of Tiberius and Augustus. In his capacity as *Vltor*, Mars had been one of the most prominent deities of the first *princeps*.²⁵⁰ As so often, Tiberius followed this example. It was in the temple of Mars Ultor that he provisionally lodged the cult of Divus Augustus.²⁵¹ Round the same temple, monuments were set up after the successes of Germanicus,²⁵² who had himself given Mars first place in the dedication of his trophy.²⁵³ It was apparently dedicated *Marti et Divo Augusto*.²⁵⁴

Divus Augustus was as closely linked with *Victoria* as he was with Mars. This connection is emphasized by the abundant official *aes* issues of Tiberius with the type of Victory.²⁵⁵ For these bear on the obverse the portrait, not of the reigning *princeps*, but of Augustus, of whose *Victoria* Tiberius claimed to be the heir. The prominence of *Victoria*, no less than of Mars, in the latter's principate is again illustrated by Paestum, which devotes to this theme at least two types. In the one case Victory stands or walks to the right, holding laurel-wreath and palm (no. 3: Plate I, 4); in the other she stands in a *biga* of horses galloping to left (no. 8: Plate I, 12-14). Such types had abounded in the principate of Augustus, on official and local coinage alike.²⁵⁶

Here, then, is another Augustan theme taken over and maintained by Tiberius. But the conditions of its maintenance had somewhat changed. For, however superior Tiberius was to Augustus in

²⁴⁹ *BMC. Imp.*, II, p. 190, no. 782, cf. pp. xlv, lvi.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Pollak, *JAIW*, 1936, pp. 13 ff., Altheim, *History of Roman Religion*, pp. 385 ff. For Mars, Hercules and the *triumphator* see Schilling, *RPh.*, 1942, pp. 31 ff.

²⁵¹ Cf. Pettazzoni, *Augustus*, p. 226.

²⁵² Tac., *Ann.*, II, 64, cf. Kornemann, *DR*, p. 40.

²⁵³ Tac., *Ann.*, II, 22, cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 5, n. 3.

²⁵⁴ Cf. Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 850 f., cf. Gagé, loc. cit., against MSS. *Marti et Iovi et Augusto*.

²⁵⁵ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 140, nos. 141 ff.

²⁵⁶ E.g. among colonies, Philippi, *FITA*, p. 274, cf. Collart, *Philippees*, pp. 232, 237.

generalship, the latter was incomparably the greater in *auctoritas*: so that Tiberius, though he laid claim to the reversion of the *Victoria Augusti*, possessed a proportionately less clear-cut claim to it. Thus ambiguities occurred in his official relations with Germanicus²⁵⁷ and many others. How much greater, then, were to be the difficulties of a Galba and an Otho, the first *principes* to lack the great contribution to *auctoritas* afforded by Julio-Claudian blood.²⁵⁸ It was they, accordingly, whose Victories had to be described, not merely as *Augusti*, as by inheritance from a glorious ancestor, but as *Galbae Aug.*²⁵⁹ and *Othonis*.²⁶⁰ For one of the chief manifestations of the Julio-Claudian *auctoritas* was this *Victoria Augusti*, which was thus an essential and central feature of the Augustan *statio principis*. Augustus, and Tiberius after him, intended to be the holders of military glory *par excellence*, and in its higher grades this amounted to nothing less than a monopoly.²⁶¹ It had become difficult for Romans to feel that any operation could be conducted under the auspices of anyone except the holder of the name "Augustus";²⁶² and so, too, it became equally natural for him to monopolize *Victoria*.²⁶³ That is to say, the proconsul of Africa, the most likely of the proconsuls to be involved in war, would in such circumstances, regardless of any restriction that there may or may not have been on his *imperium*, be limited at two successive stages: first, it became impossible for him to claim *auspicio* for himself; and secondly, if the battle was victorious, it was the *princeps* rather than the governor to whom the chief credit was due.

But the imperial Victory was not thought of as depending on mere martial prowess. There is the strongest link between *Victoria*

²⁵⁷ See Appendix 10.

²⁵⁸ *FITA*, p. 443, n. 3.

²⁵⁹ *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. ccxiv f., 353 (apparently posthumous).

²⁶⁰ *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. ccxiv, ccxxi, 367.

²⁶¹ Cf. Gagé, *MAH*, 1932, p. 89.

²⁶² Cf. above, pp. 69 ff.

²⁶³ Fink, *YCS*, VIII, 1942, p. 86, n. 23, points to the possibility of a distinction between this abstract imperial *Victoria Augusti* and the personal *Victoria Augusti* of an individual *princeps*.

Augusti and the more subtle "Virtue" *Felicitas Augusti*.²⁶⁴ The latter was the "magic" quality which, according to Roman tradition, availed the warrior king better than simple valour.²⁶⁵ It was this intangible superiority and wiliness which enabled him to ensnare his enemies. It had nothing to do with any magistracy or official power: it belonged to the realm of *auctoritas* rather than to that of *imperium*.²⁶⁶ Like Sulla and Pompey before him, Augustus attached special importance to *Felicitas*—*Fortuna*. Indeed, his Parthian settlement of 20-19 B.C., emphasised by him as the crowning glory of his reign,²⁶⁷ clearly belonged to this magic or "clever" order of things rather than to the strictly military domain of straightforward valour.

The evidence for the connection of *Felicitas Augusti* and *Victoria Augusti* is never stronger than in the principate of Tiberius. In the whole post-Augustan period, *Felicitas Augusti*, like *Victoria Augusti*, sometimes seems to refer, not only to the current, but also in a sense to the first, *princeps*.²⁶⁸ Tiberius, not least, maintained and enhanced the significance not only of the imperial *Victoria* but also of the imperial *Felicitas*,²⁶⁹ which thereafter maintained its position as a leading official coin-type.²⁷⁰ This emphasis and combination of the two concepts by Tiberius are illustrated by the legend FELICITAS TIBERI—VIC(*tor*ia) AVG(*usti*) on a sword-sheath,²⁷¹ and by the Ameria inscription *Flamen Victoriae et Felicitatis] Caesar[is] perpetuus*.²⁷² The use, on the sheath, of the

²⁶⁴ Cf. Dumézil, *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus*, p. 197, cf. p. 195.

²⁶⁵ Not fortune but personal excellence: cf. Wagenvoort, p. 61.

²⁶⁶ In the phrase *Felicitas Imperii* (Weber, pp. 99*, 101*, n. 436, Wagenvoort, p. 71), *imperium* is used in its wider and non-technical sense.

²⁶⁷ This theme is pursued in *SWC*.

²⁶⁸ Cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 100, n. 1. But see too Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, III, p. xxxix.

²⁶⁹ Gagé, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, pp. 2, 9, 33, cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 89, n. 3.

²⁷⁰ Galba, who, owing to his lack of Julian origin, was less closely associated than his predecessors with the *Felicitas Augusti*, coins with FELICITAS PVBLICA (*BMC. Imp.*, I, 329, n. 120).

²⁷¹ Gagé, *CIL*, XIII, 6796, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 9, Du Four, p. 24, n. 2.

²⁷² *ILS*, 6631, cf. 6632, Fink, *YCS*, VIII, 1942, p. 94.

plain *praenomen* TIBERIVS without addition (paralleled in Lar-gus²⁷³) suggests his peculiarly personal association with the Virtue in question.²⁷⁴ The *Fasti Praenestini* seem to refer to *Felicitas* in connection with Tiberius' dedication of the *Ara Numinis Augusti*, which apparently occurred shortly before his accession.²⁷⁵ Moreover, a *caduceus*, emblem of *Felicitas*, was chosen as type for one of the largest official coinages, commemorating his *vicennium*.²⁷⁶ Another type first issued on the same occasion, or very slightly later, is the temple of Concord, into the floor of which a bronze *caduceus* was inserted.²⁷⁷ It seems, then, that, just as the warrior-king had achieved his successes by *Felicitas* rather than by simple valour, and just as Augustus attributed the *Victoria Augusti* to *Felicitas Augusti*—possibly the former idea became clarified by stages in c. 17 and c. 7 B.C.²⁷⁸—so Tiberius likewise, on his accession if not to some extent earlier, became the living incarnation of both those *numina*.²⁷⁹ Indeed his well-known *calliditas*, though deplored by Tacitus,²⁸⁰ was but a personal variant, in this most peace-loving of emperors, of the Augustan talent for bloodless successes: and our next subject must be the *Pax* which was the essence of his government.

(iv) *Pax Perpetua*

A. PAX

No less significant than *Victoria* and *Felicitas* among the ideas underlying the principate, and no less prominent than they under Tiberius as well as under Augustus, was *Pax*. Among our colonial

²⁷³ Helmreich, 162, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 143.

²⁷⁴ For the *praenomen* see above, section i.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 47, 199 f., pace Taylor, *AJP*, 1937, pp. 187, 192.

²⁷⁶ *RAI*, Chapter III, section 2.

²⁷⁷ Huelsen, *Das Forum Romanum*, p. 80, cf. Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cxxxviii.

²⁷⁸ See Appendix 12.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Gag , *RA*, xxxii, 1930, pp. 1 ff., id., *MAH*, 1932, p. 89, and the comment of Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, III, p. xxxix.

²⁸⁰ *Ann.*, II, 30, VI, 34, XI, 3.

mintages it is illustrated by the little known *aes* piece, apparently a medallion, here attributed tentatively to Carthage (no. 17: Plate II, 3). The legend of this reads PACE AVG·PERP(*etua*): AVG· may be an abbreviation either of *Augusta*—like SALVS AVGVSTA²⁸¹ on official coinage of Tiberius—or of *Augusti*, a type of formula with slightly different nuances²⁸² which has not yet reached the official coinage but is already found at *municipium Italica* (PROVIDENTIAE AVGVSTI, Plate VII, 4).²⁸³

The concept of the imperial *Pax* has been described as even eclipsing *divus* worship in importance in the philosophy of the principate.²⁸⁴ Romulus-Quirinus,²⁸⁵ the founder of the imperial auspices,²⁸⁶ was himself a personification of peace as well as of war: *Quirinus autem est Mars qui praeest paci*.²⁸⁷ Augustus, as has been said, at first laid great stress on Romulus.²⁸⁸ But there was general interest in the kings;²⁸⁹ and in the second decade of his principate he may have emphasized instead, or as well, the more civilian figure of Romulus' successor Numa Pompilius,²⁹⁰ who, for all the traits of Romulus as pacifier, was regarded, in the light of true man of peace, as his complement.²⁹¹ The most famous manifestation of

²⁸¹ BMC. *Imp.*, p. 131, no. 81.

²⁸² See Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, I, pp. 49 ff., Fink, *YCS*, VIII, 1942, p. 87, n. 27, Gag , RA, XXXII, 1930, p. 3, n. 3, BMC. *Imp.*, I, pp. clvi f. nn., Koch RE, xviii, 4, 2432 f. Cf. *domus Augusti-Augusta, numen Augusti-Augustum*, Chapter III, section i.

²⁸³ Vives, IV, p. 127, no. 9.

²⁸⁴ Gag , RH, 1936, p. 290. For the *Pax* theme, see Kornemann in Gercke-Norden, *Einteilung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, III, 2, p. 61, Koch, loc. cit., 2430 ff.

²⁸⁵ For the identification see Servius, *ad Aen.*, I, 292, cf. Adcock, CAH, IX, p. 720.

²⁸⁶ See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection B.

²⁸⁷ Servius, *ad Aen.*, VI, 860, cf. Dum zil, *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus*, p. 89.

²⁸⁸ See above, section ii, subsection B.

²⁸⁹ Cf. Carcopino, *Points de Vue sur l'Imp rialisme Romain*, pp. 107 f., cf. p. 97.

²⁹⁰ In SWC it is suggested that the *aes* pieces with Numa's head, which are mentioned in FITA, p. xvi, should be attributed to c. 18 B.C. instead of 23 B.C. to which Willers and Mattingly attribute them. Pink prefers 20 B.C.

²⁹¹ Cf., for various aspects of this position, Dum zil, *Mitra-Varuna*, pp. 29 ff., *Horace et les Curiaes*, p. 79, *Naissance de Rome*, pp. 187 f. Augustus wanted to look like both, cf. Glaser, RE, XVII, 1, 1249; and there was apparently a statue of Numa *ad Aram Gentis Iuliae* (cf. Smith, JRS, 1926, pp. 99, 101), though the altar in question

Augustus' pacific policy is the *Ara Pacis Augustae*.²⁹² Does the type of our "medallion" represent this? It shows an altar-enclosure with two doors and no panels. This does not look the same as the ARA PACIS type of Nero, which displays one door and two panels.²⁹³ (The somewhat similar type of the official *aes* of Tiberius inscribed PROVIDENT· shows two doors, like our "medallion," but again two panels also.²⁹⁴) But accuracy need not be expected, and the altar of which the precinct is shown on our piece of Carthage(?) may well be intended to represent the *Ara Pacis* of Augustus at Rome.²⁹⁵ For other colonies too, notably Pella and Buthrotum, by their Augustan legends PACIS, SPES and SALVTIS, CONCORDIA respectively, seem to echo Roman dedications.²⁹⁶ Yet it might instead be a local altar. Thus at Corinth the dedication GENT· IVLI· (nos. 42 ff.: Plate V, 4 and 7) seem to refer to a local temple and not to a Roman *Aedes Gentis Iuliae*;²⁹⁷ and likewise an Augustan dedication IVNONI at Ilici accompanies what is presumably a city-temple.²⁹⁸

A further reference to *Pax Augusta* seems to occur on another of our colonial coinages, namely no. 10 (Plate I, 15), which is tentatively interpreted as an issue commemorating the *deductio* of *colonia* Panormus.²⁹⁹ The type of this coin, though it is badly executed

may be post-Augustan, cf. Chapter III, section i. For Numa's initiation of the *auspicia maiora* and *augurium salutis* see Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, pp. 285, 298, and above, section ii, subsection B, n. 219.

²⁹² On this, among the latest contributions to a vast literature are Poulsen, *Acta Archaeologica*, I, 1946, pp. 1 ff., Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (1948), Ryder, *Memoirs of American Academy at Rome*, 1949.

²⁹³ *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 271 f., cf. p. clxxx. As is seen by Sydenham, *The Coinage of Nero*, p. 63, n. 1, the comparison with Nero's coins should not be pressed as by Riemann, *RE*, XVIII, 2 (1942), 2087. On the type of the latter see Kubitschek, *JAIW*, 1902, pp. 153 ff.

²⁹⁴ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cxl.

²⁹⁵ Not the temple of Janus, as A. Occo, *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata* (1683), p. 70.

²⁹⁶ *FITA*, pp. 271, 281.

²⁹⁷ Cf. below, Chapter III, section i.

²⁹⁸ *FITA*, p. 215.

²⁹⁹ See *FITA*, pp. 197 f., n. 6 and below, Appendix 5.

and preserved, appears to be an olive-branch, which, as Virgil reminds us,³⁰⁰ was the recognised symbol of Peace.³⁰¹ It seems to have made its début on the Roman official coinage when it was placed, with a *cornucopiae*, beside a head of *Pax* (?) by the mint-masters of Octavian.³⁰² We know of no appearance of the olive-branch as main type before our present bronze issue. Its first depiction in this capacity on the official coinage seems to occur under Nero.³⁰³

But this isolated and doubtful occurrence of the olive-branch is insignificant in comparison with its apparent attribution to *Iustitia-Pax* on a vast official coinage of Tiberius. For an overwhelmingly large percentage of all gold and silver coins minted during his reign, as well as a few issued shortly before Augustus' death, bear a figure which, although apparently intended in the first resort to represent *Iustitia*, seems to carry the olive-branch of *Pax*³⁰⁴—a Roman synthesis which probably owed something to Stoic inspiration.³⁰⁵ These are traditionally the "Tribute Pennies" of the New Testament,³⁰⁶ of which the central events happened in this principate. Christ was credited by Matthew with the words "blessed are the peace-makers,"³⁰⁷ an idea to which the Roman concept of Peace with Justice is not alien; the two doctrines were formulated at the same time,³⁰⁸ and Tertullian rightly or wrongly (probably the latter) ascribed to Tiberius a favourable attitude to Chris-

³⁰⁰ *Georg.*, II, 425, *Aen.*, VIII, 16, cf. d'Herouville, *REL*, 1941, p. 146.

³⁰¹ It was also perhaps stressed by reasons of official agricultural policy, cf. d'Herouville, loc. cit., pp. 142 ff.

³⁰² *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. cxxiii, 100, no. 611.

³⁰³ *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 256 ff. It is there described as a laurel-branch (cf. p. 415), but interpreted as an olive-branch, *ibid.*, pp. clxxx f., cf. p. 418.

³⁰⁴ Cf. *RAI*, Chapter III, section i, combining the views of Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cxxxi, Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, I, p. 52, no. 128. Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 304, considers the figure to represent *Salus*, but without apparent justification.

³⁰⁵ Cf. Pippidi, *RC*, 1941/2 = *AT*, p. 175, n. 2.

³⁰⁶ Cf. W. Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, I, p. 427.

³⁰⁷ 5.9, cf. Pippidi, *RC*, 1941/2 = *AT*, p. 144.

³⁰⁸ Cf. Wagenvoort, *QAS*, X, 1938, p. 18, Strong, *JRS*, 1939, pp. 148 ff., Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, p. 250, Westbury Jones, *Roman and Christian Imperialism*, p. 1.

tianity.³⁰⁹ The Tiberian coins with an olive-branch, and medallion invoking *Pax*, well illustrate the temper of the principate in which they were issued: for we know independently that the concept of *Pax* gained particular force and reality during it.³¹⁰

Such, then, was the background of the remarkable legend *PACE AVG·PERP·* on our medallion of Carthage(?). This is to some extent paralleled by the Spanish dedication *Augusto Paci perpetuae et Concordiae Augustae*.³¹¹ In that inscription *Pax Perpetua* is associated with another of the concepts most closely connected with the Tiberian principate, namely *Concordia*, to which he accords emphatic anniversary commemoration on his official coinage.³¹² Under Augustus, also, the same two personifications had already been linked by Ovid—*Ianus adorandus cumque hoc Concordia mitis, Et Romana Salus, araue Pacis erit*.³¹³

The reference to *Pax* on the medallion of Carthage(?), in a different Case from its appearances on the Spanish inscription and in the pages of Ovid, suggests a grammatical consideration which, although of minor importance in itself, illustrates a not unimportant tendency. For here, on a Tiberian colonial mintage, is a feature not found on official issues until many more years, if not centuries, have passed. On an Augustan coin of *colonia Buthrotum*, as in Ovid after *Ara*, we find the Genitive *PACIS*;³¹⁴ on official coinages starting under Claudius, as at Ostia, there appears the dedicatory Dative.³¹⁵ But our medallion of Carthage(?) exceptionally shows an Ablative. No such Ablative in connection with a Virtue or deity had ever appeared. This unusual inflection could be interpreted either as an

³⁰⁹ *Apologeticum*, V, 2, cf. XXI, 4; Pippidi, *REL*, 1934 = *AT*, pp. 194 f. (references).

³¹⁰ Cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, pp. 34 f., *RH*, 1936, Piganiol, *Histoire de Rome*, p. 247.

³¹¹ *ILS*, 3786, cf. von Premerstein, p. 126.

³¹² *RAI*, Chapter III, section 2.

³¹³ *Fasti*, III, 881, cf. *FITA*, p. 271, Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 299; the present writer says more about this conjunction in *Univ. of Edinburgh Review*, 1949, p. 238.

³¹⁴ *FITA*, p. 271. Cf. under Tiberius *AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE* (Plate VII, 2), etc.

³¹⁵ *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. lxiv, 165 ff.

elliptical Ablative Absolute,³¹⁶ or an extension of the "Instrumental Ablative,"³¹⁷ expressing Quality or the so-called "Attendant Circumstances."³¹⁸ Here, as has been said, parallels cannot be found on official issues until a much later date. Indeed, the use of such Ablatives on official coinages to describe deities and "Virtues" is only found much after the Julio-Claudian period. We may quote the CERERE AVG[VS·] of Septimius Severus,³¹⁹ the almost simultaneous SPE AVG· of Clodius Albinus,³²⁰ and the PERPETVITATE of Florian (A.D. 276)³²¹ and his successors. But the first two of these are provincial, and an Ablative may not have been intended; though for our present medallion piece of Tiberius such an assumption would probably be unjustified. PAX, too, was to appear on official coinages in the Ablative, but in an unelliptical Ablative Absolute—PACE P·R· TERRA MARIQVE PARTA,³²² a great early imperial theme.³²³

A grammatical form like this Ablative on our piece of Carthage (?), whatever its explanation, is, by the mere fact that its only parallels are not contemporary but far in the future,³²⁴ not inap-

³¹⁶ For an earlier Ablative Absolute cf. AEGYPTO CAPTA, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 106, no. 650, and the signatures of colonial magistrates (*FITA*, pp. 159, 189 f., 196 f., 262: cf. also—elliptically—C. Allio Bala at Lipara, *ibid.*, p. 28); cf. later VOTIS X. MVLTIS XX etc. (for an early example under Commodus see *BMC. Imp.*, IV, p. 743).

³¹⁷ Precedents for this type of usage are perhaps partly supplied by TRIB(*unicia*) POT(*estate*), etc., *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. lxxviii, cf. II, pp. xxxiv, lxxxvi, Vandvik, *AVAO*, 1941, 2 (1942), p. 110.

³¹⁸ For the Instrumental Ablative in general see Ernout, Riemann's *Syntaxe Latine*¹, pp. 160 ff. For the so-called Ablative of Manner (with adjective), *ibid.*, p. 162. For the Ablative of "Quality" see Vandvik, *AVAO*, 1941, no. 2 (1942) (especially p. 64, "Komitative Begriffe"), Löfstedt, *Skrifter utgivna av Det Kongl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-samfundet i Lund*, X, 1, 1942, pp. 155 ff., cf. also Woodcock, *CR*, 1947, pp. 22 ff. Such an interpretation of our present legend requires the understanding of *res publica* or *imperium p.R.* or some such phrase.

³¹⁹ *RIC*, IV, 1, pp. 617 f.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 50, no. 41; cf. Carausius later (*RIC*, V, 2, pp. 542 f.). The latter also uses FIDES, FIDE and FIDEM indiscriminately (*ibid.*, p. 529), but blunders are to be suspected and indeed expected.

³²¹ *RIC*, V, 2, pp. 352 f. Also Probus and Carus.

³²² *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. lxxiv, clxxviii ff. (Nero).

³²³ Cf. Gagé, *RH*, 1936, p. 81, MAH, 1936, p. 70, Pippidi, *RHSE*, 1942 = *AT*, p. 144, Momigliano, *JRS*, 1942, p. 63 and n. 44.

³²⁴ For the sake of completeness, mention should be made of an Ablative after a

propriate to the progressive developments in the idea of *Pax* which were a feature of the principate of Tiberius. The next subsection will suggest that the same medallion of Carthage(?) shows further anticipations of the practice of official coinage.

B. *PERPETVITAS*

A second feature of our colonial piece with *PACE AVG·PERP·*, which again anticipates by many years the practice of the official coinage, is the epithet *perpetua*. This is far from common on the Roman coinage of the early Principate; our present piece, unless partially paralleled by a second Carthaginian(?) issue of Antonia (now lost if it ever existed³²⁵), provides the only numismatic instance of the word—and a non-official one at that—between the *DICTATOR PERPET·* of Lepidus(?) for Divus Julius in c. 37 B.C.³²⁶ (a titular instance which is hardly comparable) and the *ROMA PERPETVA* of Vespasian.³²⁷ After the latter there is no known parallel until the last decade of the second century, when Commodus inscribed an issue *FELIC· PERPETVAE AVG.*³²⁸ This is the earliest analogy, on the official coinage, to our present colonial use under Tiberius of *perpetua* with a “Virtue.”³²⁹ The usage of Commodus was followed by Severus’ ascription of the same epithet to Concordia, Securitas and Spes.³³⁰ But our *Pax Perpetua* did not occur on official issues until the emperor Tacitus (A.D. 275-276).³³¹ Before that, however, Severus Alexander had personified

Preposition—*AVGVSTA IN PACE* of Salonina, *RIC*, V, 1, p. 197, cf. (for its “Christian” sound) Mattingly, *RC*, p. 162.

³²⁵ Cohen, I, p. 222, no. 3, doubted by *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 188 n. The legend is given as *PACI* (not *PACE*) *PERP·*, but, on the Tiberian piece also, the final E is so poorly constructed as to look like an I at first sight.

³²⁶ This is the interpretation given to a unique *aes* piece (at Copenhagen) in *FITA*, pp. 50 ff. But it might also have been issued by Octavian in c. 36 B.C.

³²⁷ *BMC. Imp.*, II, pp. lxiii, 86.

³²⁸ *BMC. Imp.*, IV, pp. clxix, n. 3, 752, 833.

³²⁹ Cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 91, n. 3.

³³⁰ *RIC*, IV, 1, pp. 71, 75; cf. pp. 130, 212, 276.

³³¹ *RIC*, V, 1, p. 333. Marcus Aurelius introduces *PAX AETERNA AVG·*, *BMC. Imp.*, IV, p. 648, no. 1549, etc.

the quality itself with PERPETVITATI AVG.³³² Probus (276-282), the successor of Tacitus and Florian, was to follow, in part, the example of Caesar *dictator perpetuo* by applying the same term to himself as *imperator*, not *perpetuo*, but *perpetuus*³³³—PERPETVO IMP(eratori) PROBO AVG.³³⁴ Two centuries afterwards, Valentinian I celebrated PERPETVITAS IMPERII,³³⁵ apparently on the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Augustus,³³⁶ and Gratian was to illustrate a similar theme by a phoenix on a globe.³³⁷

Thus the appearance of *perpetua* on our colonial "medallion" inaugurates and anticipates a long line of uses on the official series. Apparently *Perpetuitas*, to begin with, did not mean quite the same as *Aeternitas*,³³⁸ though the distinction may sometimes be lost sight of. Vespasian's inauguration of the epithet *perpetua* on the official coinage in conjunction with Roma is a deviation from the far commoner *Roma Aeterna* which can scarcely be accidental. Much later, Severus Alexander must have had a distinction in mind if, inscribing one coin PERPETVITATI, he inscribed another AETERNITATIBVS.³³⁹ Florian and Probus were to substitute an occasional VICTORIA PERPETVA³⁴⁰ for the more frequent VICTORIA AETERNA,³⁴¹ and the latter was to imitate their predecessor Tacitus in ringing the changes on the two epi-

³³² RIC, IV, 2, p. 84.

³³³ Cf. the "perpetual consulship" of Vitellius, Stevenson, *CAH*, X, p. 826. For *et sacrosanctus in perpetuum ut essem* (RG, 10), Hammond, p. 245, n. 10, Hohl, *Klio*, 1939, p. 74, *FITA*, p. 451, etc.

³³⁴ RIC, V, 2, pp. 13, 19, 110 f., cf. Gagé, *RH*, 1933, p. 34.

³³⁵ Pearce, *NC*, 1938, pp. 126 ff.

³³⁶ *RAI*, Chapter VII, section 4.

³³⁷ Pearce, *NC*, 1938, p. 128 (PERPETVETAS [sic]).

³³⁸ For references see Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, pp. 83, 87, n. 1, 91, n. 1, Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, pp. 273, 279 ff. According to Gneecchi, *Numismatic Circular*, 1908 = *The Coin-Types of Imperial Rome*, p. 55, the two conceptions "may almost be confused."

³³⁹ RIC, IV, 2, p. 81. Doubted by Fink, *YCS*, 1940, p. 62, n. 1.

³⁴⁰ RIC, V, 1, pp. 352 f., V, 2, p. 108, cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 98.

³⁴¹ For this see Berlinger, *Zur inoffiziellen Titulatur der römischen Kaiser*, Diss: Breslau, 1935, p. 24, d'Ors Pérez-Peix, *Emerita*, 1943, p. 330, n. 1.

thets as applied to *Pax*.³⁴² Later still, the Augusti and Caesars of the tetrarchy were sometimes distinguished from each other by being called *aeterni* and *perpetui* respectively.³⁴³ Apart from references to Caesar's dictatorship, both words had first been introduced to the coinage of the empire under Tiberius; for not only does this apply to *Perpetuus*, but it is in his reign, too, that other colonial issues of Tarraco (Plate VII, 2) and Emerita (Plate VII, 8) are inscribed with the novel legend AETERNITATI[S] AVGVSTAE.³⁴⁴

The difference between the two conceptions is perhaps illustrated by Cicero. It is true that he exemplifies the natural tendency to confusion by coupling *aeternus* and *perpetuus* at least once without apparent distinction.³⁴⁵ But what is more significant is his tendency to link the latter epithet with words like *stabilis*,³⁴⁶ *constans*³⁴⁷ and *assiduus*.³⁴⁸ *Aeternus* means "that which is raised above all time," whereas *perpetuus* signifies "unbroken, uninterrupted, continuous."³⁴⁹ As its etymology (*peto*) suggests, the latter term sometimes carries an undertone of striving or hard work. It is a less celestial and more worldly epithet than *aeternus*. When Vespasian substitutes ROMA PERPETVA for the more usual ROMA AETERNA, he perhaps intends to convey a sense, not of the objective eternity of the city or of *Romanità*, but of the successful effort for survival, as exemplified by the recent Civil Wars and by the strenuous reforms that followed them.

Thus, too, when a city speaks of *Pax Augusta* (or *Augusti*) *Per-*

³⁴² *RIC*, V, 1, pp. 330, 333, V, 2, p. 21.

³⁴³ Seston, *Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie*, I, p. 220, n. 1. See in general Instinsky, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 344.

³⁴⁴ Cf. Hoey, *YCS*, 1940, pp. 105 f., Instinsky, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 323, Ensslin, *SB München*, 1943, VI, pp. 39 ff.

³⁴⁵ *De Nat. Deorum*, I, 15, 40.

³⁴⁶ *De Inv.*, II, 54, 164.

³⁴⁷ *Phil.*, XIII, 6, 13.

³⁴⁸ *Fam.*, VI, 13, 2.

³⁴⁹ Lewis and Short, ss. vv. Cf. the Vergilian meaning of *perpetuus*, "drawn out at full length"; Mackail, ed., *Aen.*, VIII, 183, cf. IV, 32, VII, 176.

petua under Tiberius, the suggestion is that this peace needs to be worked for and will not come with the inevitability of fate. Such a conception is consistent with the sober and laborious spirit of Tiberius' rule, and deserves to rank with *Moderatio* as one of its peculiar catchwords. Indeed, we have independent evidence that his principate witnessed a considerably extended use of the epithet *perpetuus*. For example, he himself is described by Velleius as *perpetuus patronus Romani Imperii*³⁵⁰ and by a Gaulish inscription (admittedly deviating from official usage) as *imperator perpetuus*;³⁵¹ while the conspiracy of Sejanus called forth vows *pro perpetua salute divinae domus*.³⁵² But the closest parallel of all is the dedication *Augusto Paci perpetuae et Concordiae Augustae*.³⁵³

By way of contrast, when Seneca wrote *magna et aeterna pax*,³⁵⁴ he was to mean, like Christians at a later date,³⁵⁵ no worldly peace, but death.³⁵⁶ His phrase for the former, and synonym of the Tiberian *Pax perpetua*, was *pax Romana*.³⁵⁷ Tiberius, too, tended to reserve *aeternitas* for superhuman ideas. In his principate, at provincial capitals, the phrase AETERNITATI[S] AVGVSTAE (Plate VII, 2, 8) seems to have been inscribed on temples; the idea was closely linked with that of the *aeternitas populi Romani*.³⁵⁸ *Aeternitas Augusta* does not claim *Aeternitas* for the ruling *princeps*, nor, very pointedly, did Tiberius, whose judgment was *principes mortales, rem publicam aeternam esse*.³⁵⁹ But *Aeternitas Augusta*

³⁵⁰ II, 121, cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 91, n. 3.

³⁵¹ *ILS*, 121: see above, section i. At cities there were *quinquennales perpetui* (Larsen, *CP*, 1931, p. 322) and *flamines perpetui*; cf. *Sac. Perp.* at Carthage, Chapter III, section i.

³⁵² *ILS*, 157, cf. Charlesworth, *HTR*, 1936, p. 112, n. 14, Rogers, p. 28 (Interamna).

³⁵³ *ILS*, 3786: see last subsection. Cf. also Addenda.

³⁵⁴ *Ad Marc.*, 19. 15.

³⁵⁵ *Requiescit in pace*, etc.—from the Hebrew. Cf. *Augusta in pace*, *RIC*, V, I, p. 197.

³⁵⁶ But this contrast cannot be pressed too far; exceptions occur on both sides. For the theme see Pfeleiderer, *Die Idee des ewigen Friedens*, in *Reden und Aufsätze* (1909), pp. 50 ff.

³⁵⁷ *De Clem.*, I.8.2; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 27.1.1.3.

³⁵⁸ Cf. Charlesworth, *HTR*, 1936, p. 122, cf. Rogers, p. 32.

³⁵⁹ Tac., *Ann.*, III, 65, cf. Rogers, p. 33.

does hint at a dynastic permanence which was not yet formulated by official policy; and so does Tucci's dedication *pro ae[tern.] Caesarum*,³⁶⁰ which pointed straight to the dynastic implications of the AETERNIT(as) IMPERI of the Severi,³⁶¹ and was nearer still to the autocratic and theocratic *Aeternitas Augusti*.³⁶²

Was it in awareness of these divergent strands of *aeternitas* that Severus Alexander, who had room for many gods in his *lararium*,³⁶³ produced his surprising coin-legend AETERNITATIBVS? Perhaps the comprehensive plural suggests that variations on this theme were already a little threadbare. Later in the century, the VESTA AETERNA of Salonina³⁶⁴ seems scarcely more than a tautological repetition.³⁶⁵ By way of contrast with the elevated character of *aeternitas*, and its danger of becoming lost in meaningless abstraction, one of the many numismatic innovations of Commodus had been the more concretely phrased FORTVNAE MANENTI;³⁶⁶ and simpler still was to be the VICTORIOSO SEMPER of Probus.³⁶⁷ This was the ideal of a warrior and a military monarchy, and contrasts vividly with Tiberius' text for his very different reign—PACE AVG· PERP.

(v) Old and new types

The last two subsections have attempted to illustrate novel features of PACE AVG· PERP.; and there are other novelties in Ti-

³⁶⁰ *ILS*, 163, as restored by Mommsen.

³⁶¹ *RIC*, IV, 1, pp. 73, 75, 77; cf. coinage of Philip. See Pearce, *NC*, 1938, p. 128, Ensslin, *SB München*, 1943 (VI), p. 39, Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 124, Nock, *JRS*, 1947, p. 105, n. 30.

³⁶² Ensslin, *SB München*, 1943 (VI), p. 41.

³⁶³ *Id.*, *CAH*, XII, p. 68 (n. 1 references). But see above, n. 339.

³⁶⁴ *RIC*, V, 1, p. 115.

³⁶⁵ For the link between *Vesta* and *Aeternitas* see Charlesworth, *HTR*, 1936, pp. 107 ff., Rogers, p. 20. Last, *CR*, 1943, p. 32, suggests that no such inseparable link existed at a much earlier period; but cf. Hor., *Od.*, III, 5, 11.

³⁶⁶ *BMC. Imp.*, IV, pp. clxv and n. 2, 731, 813, 821, 858; Nock, *JRS*, 1947, p. 113, n. 91.

³⁶⁷ *RIC*, V, 2, pp. 32, 41, cf. Gagé, *RH*, 1933, pp. 27, 31, 34.

berian colonial types. But these must be considered alongside many features already found under Augustus. Inherited from Augustus, apparently without change, were *Mars* and *Victoria*,³⁶⁸ and so were certain other cults, likewise recorded on our coinage, which seem to have had a special local significance, such as Jupiter Ammon at Cassandrea (no. 32: Plate IV, 4) and Mercury at Thapsus³⁶⁹ (nos. 24, 26, 28-29, 31: Plate III, 3-4 and 6, IV, 1 and 3).³⁷⁰ Both these had been the special types of their cities under Augustus just as they were under Tiberius.³⁷¹ If we turn to official types of an inanimate character,³⁷² we find, as in Spain³⁷³ and on statues,³⁷⁴ an abundance of laurel-wreaths (*Victoria Augusti*³⁷⁵) and oak-wreaths (*ob cives servatos*³⁷⁶), always hard to tell apart³⁷⁷ (e.g. Plate I, 1-3, II, 3, IV, 9, V, 16, VII, 7, VIII, 7). These were both purely Augustan; and so was the capricorn at Panormus (no. 11: Plate I, 16), which recalls those imitated by *municipia Italica*³⁷⁸ and Zitha³⁷⁹—under Augustus—from his official issues.³⁸⁰ Pontifical implements, too, are common in both reigns.³⁸¹ The *simpulum* and *lituus* at Hippon Diarrhytus (no. 20: Plate II, 7)³⁸² had already appeared on Augustan coinages as

³⁶⁸ See above, section iii.

³⁶⁹ The ram at Panormus (no. 12: Plate I, 17 and 18) is interpreted as a symbol of Mercury by Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, p. 208; cf. Orth, *RE*, 2 R. 2, 393.

³⁷⁰ For the Augustan Mercury see Scott, *Hermes*, 1928, pp. 15 ff., Degraasi, *Athenaeum*, 1937, pp. 284 ff., Piganiol, *RA*, XXII, 1944, p. 123 and especially Chittenden, *NC*, 1945, pp. 41 ff.

³⁷¹ *FITA*, pp. 272 (cf. Kubitschek, *Gnomon*, 1937, p. 24), 225.

³⁷² For temples and shrines, cf. below, Chapter II, section iv, subsections A and B, Chapter III, section i.

³⁷³ E.g. Romula (Plate VII, 7), Acci, Tarraco, and *municipia* Bilbilis and Osca; also at *municipium* Utica.

³⁷⁴ E.g. Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 152.

³⁷⁵ See Chapter II, section iii.

³⁷⁶ Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, III, 21, for conferment on Tiberius.

³⁷⁷ Cf. Schulz, *Die Rechtstitel und Regierungsprogramme auf römischen Kaiser-münzen*, p. 9 n. 19, p. 12, Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. xcix f.

³⁷⁸ *FITA*, p. 174.

³⁷⁹ *FITA*, p. 187.

³⁸⁰ *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 56, 62, 80, 107, 110, 113.

³⁸¹ For the *patera* held by Livia as priestess, see below, Chapter III, section iv, subsection B.

³⁸² See above, section ii, subsection B; also Appendix 11.

emblems of the high-priesthood,³⁸³ and even the much rarer *strigiles* at Pella (nos. 36, 40: Plate IV, 11) had figured at the same mint under the first *princeps*.³⁸⁴

On the other hand, in our discussion of PACE AVG· PERP·, one point that has emerged is the occasional appearance of new phrases and motifs on colonial issues many years, often very many years, before they are found on the official mintages; and it has become clear that, in spite of its many conservative traits,³⁸⁵ this applies particularly to the colonial series of Tiberius. Its epithet PERPETVA, like its personification AETERNITAS, does not appear on metropolitan issues until Vespasian. The olive-branch of Peace, apparently found at Panormus soon after (if not before) the accession of Tiberius, occurs first under Nero as the main type of official coins; while the actual PAX PERPETVA of our Tiberian medallion of Carthage(?) does not reappear at all until centuries later still, under Tacitus (A.D. 275-276).

Moreover, other colonial and municipal coinages of Tiberius provide analogous examples of such anticipations of the official practice. Thus the legend DEO AVGVSTO which appears at *colonia* Tarraco under Tiberius (Plate VI, 8: sometimes on the same coin as AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE³⁸⁶) does not appear on official coinage until we find it—apparently in honour of an Augustan anniversary—on *aurei* of Gallienus (A.D. 253-268).³⁸⁷ Again, the omission of any divine title from the style of Augustus, at Dyrrhachium and Pella under Tiberius, is not paralleled on official issues until Hadrian.³⁸⁸ Yet another Tiberian anticipation, at a provincial Roman city, of a later official numismatic theme is provided by *municipium* Italica, which writes PROVIDENTIAE AVGVSTI in full

³⁸³ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 40.

³⁸⁴ *FITA*, pp. 281 f.

³⁸⁵ Cf. above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C.

³⁸⁶ Vives, IV, p. 131, no. 12.

³⁸⁷ See below, Chapter III, section iii.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, n. 120.

(Plate VII, 4³⁸⁹), rendering explicit the deliberately generalised PROVIDENT· of the imperial *aes*. Here, however, the time-lag before the theme percolates to the official coinage is a shorter one; for it is not a third-century *princeps*, but Claudius, whose Roman issues first write this type of formula in full—CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI.³⁹⁰ Similarly Pella (no. 39) and Caesaraugusta³⁹¹ write PIETAS AVGVSTA under Tiberius where Rome still writes PIETAS.³⁹²

Nor are these the only precocities or peculiarities of the Tiberian coin-types of citizen communities. For in some cases, as subjects discussed in the next chapter will indicate, we find strange terms or phrases which are not only alien to the official coinage of the principates of Tiberius and Augustus, but never, even in later years, recur on official or, for that matter, local coinages. Thus Romula's GENETRIX ORBIS of Livia (Plate VII, 6),³⁹³ only partially paralleled at a much later date by the VENERI GENETRICI of Sabina,³⁹⁴ is for the rest exceptional; the GENT· IVLI· of Corinth (Plate V, 4, 7) disappears after a brief survival under Caligula,³⁹⁵ while the IVNCTIO of Ilici (Plate VI, 6),³⁹⁶ applied to Germanicus and Drusus, has no precedent or parallel on coinage of any sort or period.

PACE AVG· PERP·, then, is only one of a number of types that present, along with elements inherited from Augustus, features which can be related to no Augustan precedent, but which instead are either unique or point the way to practices not apparent on the official coinage until much later principates. Phenomena of this latter type suggest a new aspect of the gradual and much-discussed

³⁸⁹ Vives, IV, p. 127, no. 9; cf. above, section iv, subsection A.

³⁹⁰ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 180, no. 109, p. 184, no. 140.

³⁹¹ Vives, IV, p. 80, no. 37, cf. Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 92, no. 19, and p. 96; cf. below, Chapter III, section iii, subsection A, n. 166. It is in the Genitive.

³⁹² *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 133, no. 98.

³⁹³ Vives, IV, p. 80, no. 37; cf. below, Chapter III, section iv, subsection A.

³⁹⁴ *BMC. Imp.*, III, pp. cxvii, cxli, 307, 334.

³⁹⁵ See below, Chapter III, section i.

³⁹⁶ Vives, IV, p. 42, no. 10; cf. below, Chapter III, section ii.

“provincialisation” of Rome and the Romans.³⁹⁷ A further aspect of the same subject, the infiltration from the periphery of special honours to the imperial family, is the topic of the next section.

³⁹⁷ Cf. (for race) M. P. Nilsson, *Imperial Rome*, pp. 338 ff., Frank, *American Historical Review*, 1915/16, pp. 689 ff., Rostovtzeff, *SEH*, pp. 100, 517 f., n. 31, etc., etc. However, the view of Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, pp. 85 ff., 111 ff., that Roman Law was similarly provincialised is now contested by de Visscher, *AC*, 1946, p. 58, who suggests that the influence was centrifugal. Kornemann, *GR*, p. 349 ff., says that “Hellenisation” came quickly after Augustus, who had delayed it (cf. Weber’s unpublished *Princeps*, Vol. II, Chapters IV and V).

CHAPTER III

THE FAMILY OF TIBERIUS

(i) The *Gens Iulia*

A TYPE which evokes collectively the theme of the imperial family is provided by the Tiberian coinage of Corinth. The larger and more varied of the two duoviral issues of this mint that can be attributed to Tiberius is that of the *duoviri* L. Arrius Peregrinus and L. Furius Labeo (nos. 42-45), apparently datable to some year before 22.¹ Its type is a hexastyle temple inscribed GENT (i or is) IVLI(ae) (Plate V, 4, 7). Though the imperial cult under Tiberius is a familiar theme, a brief commentary on this particular legend is perhaps needed in order to enable it to play its part among the rest of the evidence. For this is apparently the numismatic début of the phrase *Gens Iulia*,² and indeed, if we except a brief survival of the same series under Caligula,³ apparently its sole numismatic occurrence.

At the very period of our Tiberian coinages the *Gens Iulia* receives literary attention: for Tacitus records the dedication of a *sacrarium Genti Iuliae* in A.D. 16 at its ancestral Bovillae,⁴ from which too we have a Republican inscription of the *gentiles Iuliei*.⁵ In speaking of A.D. 19, Tacitus again illustrates the special position of the *Gens Iulia* by describing the stipulation according to which it alone should provide successors to the priestly posts of Germanicus.⁶ These developments are very close in date to the Corinthian coins, and the combined evidence bears witness to a decisive stage

¹ Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 7.

² The "Livia as priestess" type is sometimes (e.g. by Hill) described as representing the *Gens Iulia*, but it is labelled IVLIA AVGVSTA: see below, section iv, subsection B.

³ Earle Fox, *JIAN*, 1899, p. 105, no. 30.

⁴ *Ann.*, II, 41, cf. Weber, p. 91*, n. 424, Gag , *MAH*, 1931, p. 20, n. 3.

⁵ *ILS*, 298, cf. Gag , *MAH*, 1931, p. 20, n. 3, Syme, *RR*, p. 68.

⁶ *Ann.*, II, 83, cf. Gag , *MAH*, 1930, p. 170, n. 4.

in the cult. Its preliminaries under Augustus are obscure. The *Ara Gentis Iuliae* at Rome, of which we have epigraphic evidence under Claudius⁷ and Titus,⁸ was ascribed by Grueber to c. 39 B.C.,⁹ and Taylor too first attributed it to Augustus (12 B.C.);¹⁰ but subsequently she has withdrawn this view in favour of the opinion that the *Ara Numinis Augusti*, from its foundation (shortly before his death?) served the cult of the *Gens Iulia*.¹¹ Though Augustus' family played a very great part in his policy,¹² there seems to be no positive evidence for an *Ara Gentis Iuliae* at Rome in his lifetime;¹³ the altar existing in the time of Claudius may have been founded by the latter, but the founder could also have been Tiberius.

Similar chronological doubts attend our earliest known inscription recording a kindred concept, the *Gens Augusta*. This inscription is a private dedication from a fellow-colony of Corinth, namely Carthage, couched in the phrase *Genti Augustae P. Perelius Hedulus sac. perp.*¹⁴ This is usually ascribed to the lifetime of Augustus, but at one time Rostovtzeff envisaged a Tiberian date.¹⁵ *Gens Augusta* naturally does not mean quite the same as *Gens Iulia*. It has been suggested that the former implies the inclusion of the living family of the *princeps* in the cult, whereas the latter term only provides for the worship of his deceased relatives.¹⁶ This is doubtful, but it remains true that *Gens Augusta* is the more "advanced" of the

⁷ Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, p. 57.

⁸ Smith, *JRS*, 1926, pp. 99 ff. (a military diploma).

⁹ *BMC Republic*, I, p. 584 n. But the references which he quotes there (*CIG*, 6125 and *Bullettino dell' Instituto Archeologico*, 1845, p. 122) do not support this view.

¹⁰ *AJA*, 1925, p. 307, n. 2.

¹¹ *DRE*, p. 193, n. 25. See above, p. 77.

¹² Cf. Mommsen, *St. R.*³, II, p. 1168, n. 2, Kornemann, *DR*, p. 23, Groag, *Studien zur Kaisergeschichte*, p. 42, n. 5, Ehrenberg, p. 203.

¹³ Pippidi, *RGI*, pp. 72, n. 3, 201, reserves his judgment.

¹⁴ Poinssot, *Notes et Documents de la Direction des Antiquités de Tunisie*, 1929, pp. 14 f.; Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, p. 11, *QA*, I, 1937, pp. 12 f., and *MAH*, 1932, p. 63; Carcopino, *MAH*, 1933, p. 23, Strong, *CAH*, X, p. 552, Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 134, Maj, *RPAA*, 1936, p. 157, Pippidi, *RGI*, pp. 129 ff., etc. See also next note.

¹⁵ *Röm. Mitt.*, 1923/4, pp. 290 ff., later qualified in *BAF*, 1925, p. 209, n. 1. He also discusses the altar in *Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, XV, 1922, p. 142, *SEH*, pp. 44, 46, *SES*, p. 50; in the first he wrongly calls it an *Ara Gentis Iuliae*.

¹⁶ Cagnat, *CRAI*, 1913, p. 684, cf. Pippidi, *RGI*, p. 130, n. 1.

two phrases. Augustus himself had pointed the distinction when he preferred his legislation to be known by the name of *leges Iuliae* rather than by the too autocratic designation (associated with a new "imperial" method) of *leges Augustae*.¹⁷ On the other hand he had finally used the name "Augustus" in the gentile position,¹⁸ and from 27 B.C. had allowed his colonies to be called *coloniae Augustae*,¹⁹ the previous designation *colonia Iulia* not, indeed, becoming extinct²⁰ but perhaps being principally used henceforward for foundations associated with his vicegerents and relatives rather than with himself.²¹ The new term *colonia Augusta* was more autocratic; and, similarly, *gens Augusta*, apparently introduced at a somewhat later date, carried less conservative associations than *gens Iulia*.

It is uncertain whether the Carthaginian altar of the *Gens Augusta* is earlier or later than the Corinthian temple of *Gens Iulia*. But they are not precisely parallel, for the former was a private dedication, whereas the Corinthian temple was evidently an official institution of the *colonia*. It is reasonable enough that P. Hedulus should adopt a more "advanced" phrase than the official issue of a colony. Roman citizens abroad would naturally go further in such respects than the cities to which they belonged, just as the official practice of those cities would outrun the practice of Rome itself.²²

The *moderatio* of Tiberius made him likely to extend his official preference to the less precocious of the two designations, *Gens Iulia* (which alone appears on coins), not least because the name "Augustus" was so much more closely linked with his predecessor than with Tiberius himself.²³ Although little prominence was given to Julius Caesar at this time,²⁴ the *Iulii* were the family into which

¹⁷ Cf. Stuart Jones, *CAH*, X, p. 147, von Premerstein, pp. 153, 157.

¹⁸ See above, Chapter II, section i.

¹⁹ Cf. *FITA*, pp. 257, 293, n. 1.

²⁰ Cf. Gsell, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, VIII, p. 179, Henderson, *JRS*, 1942, p. 13.

²¹ Cf. *FITA*, pp. 259 f.

²² Cf. above, Chapter II, section v.

²³ See above, Chapter II, section i.

²⁴ Cf. above, Chapter II, section i, and below, section iii.

he had been adopted in A.D. 4; and his mother, who was adopted into it posthumously by Augustus, from then onwards called herself IVLIA (as well as AVGVSTA) (Plate II, 4, V, 11 and 14, VI, 9, VII, 6, VIII, 11).²⁵ The younger men of the family, however, after they had reached a certain age and status,²⁶ did not do likewise: they were required to follow Tiberius in using the name CAESAR in the "gentile" position, unlike Augustus who had, in later life, preferred for it the place of the *praenomen*.²⁷ This "gentile" use of CAESAR, if it may be so described, soon brings us to phrases which approach, but never quite achieve, *Gens Caesarina*²⁸ or *Caesarum*. Thus before long we hear of *pontifex Caesarum*,²⁹ possibly *aeternitas Caesarum*,³⁰ and closest of all—*domus Caesarum*.³¹ But this process never goes so far that we hear of a *gens* described in this way. For after all the *Gens* was the *Gens Iulia*, of which the ancient Republican history is recalled to us by the inscription at Bovillae. Incidentally, that inscription records their worship of Veiovis (a deity who likewise linked the family with Apollo Palatinus³²); and a thunderbolt on the official coinage of Tiberius (for Divus Augustus), imitated at Achulla (no. 14: Plate I, 21), seems to carry a similar allusion³³ and so may, perhaps, likewise be related to the cult of the *Gens Iulia*; so possibly may Numa, whose statue stood by the altar.³⁴

²⁵ See below, section iv, subsection B.

²⁶ The grandsons of Tiberius still appear, when very young, as Ti. Iulii Germanicus and Nero, e.g., on a lead piece at Berlin, Dressel, *ZfN*, 1922, p. 182; Nero (Gemellus) has not yet become Ti. Caesar Drusi Caes. f., as on *CIL*, VI, 892.

²⁷ See above, Chapter II, section i.

²⁸ Even under Augustus at least one colony had apparently been described as *Caesarina*, i.e., Asido (Henderson, *JRS*, 1942, p. 13). Cf. *Caesarea*, the epithet given to Pisidian Antioch, though for a special reason (*FITA*, p. 250—not Sinope, *ibid.*, p. 253).

²⁹ *CIL*, II, 2038 (Anticaria); cf. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 35, *id.*, *RIS*, p. 159.

³⁰ *ILS*, 163 (Tucci), as restored by Mommsen.

³¹ Cf. Wickert, *Klio*, 1940, p. 136. For *domus*, see later in this section. For the relation of *gens* with another kindred word *familia*, see Rolfe, *CP*, 1915, pp. 445 f., Du Four, p. 10, n. 15.

³² Cf. Pettazzoni, *Augustus*, p. 220.

³³ Mattingly, *NC*, 1930, pp. 132 f.

³⁴ Smith, *JRS*, 1926, pp. 99, 101, cf. above, Chapter II, section iv, subsection A.

Public worship of the *Gens Iulia*, whether at Rome or by a colony, represented a step, even if a short one, in the direction of autocracy, since it stressed the idea of an imperial family. Among citizens, as well as among foreigners, this idea began increasingly to take shape under Tiberius.³⁵ As might be expected however, Tiberius himself, at Rome at least, discouraged this tendency. But, for all the caution of the Gythian decree,³⁶ he could not, or did not, stop the cities of the empire from considerably outstripping this *moderatio*. For example, *flamines* of Livia, Germanicus and Drusus were, in the earlier part of the reign and in their lifetimes, appointed even by *oppida civium Romanorum*.³⁷ Reference has been made to *domus Caesarum*, *aeternitas Caesarum*, *pontifex Caesarum* at peregrine communities; another was to have a *pontifex domus Augustae* some time during the first century.³⁸

So this tendency—like those described in the last chapter—began at the periphery.³⁹ But the Roman poets too are in the van of such movements: Ovid uses *domus Augusta*,⁴⁰ and *domus Augusti*⁴¹ as well, as does an Ostian inscription also.⁴² Attention had begun to be deflected, even before the death of Tiberius, from the *gens* of the *princeps* to his *domus*.⁴³ This was a word of deceptive associations with the Republican groups⁴⁴ that did not prevent it from conveying the suggestion of a royal court and a dynasty.⁴⁵ Phaedrus,

³⁵ Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 34, id., *RIS*, p. 158.

³⁶ For references see Chapter III, section iv, subsection A.

³⁷ *CIL*, XII, 3180, 3207, cf. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, IV, p. 346, n. 3; *ILS*, 6896 (Olisipo), cf. Sutherland, *RIS*, p. 159, *JRS*, 1934, p. 34.

³⁸ *CIL*, II, 2105 (Urgavo), cf. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 34, n. 27.

³⁹ Pippidi, *RCl*, p. 129.

⁴⁰ *Ex Ponto*, II, 2, 76, cf. Pippidi, *RCl*, p. 131; cf. Philo, *In Flacc.*, 4, 23.

⁴¹ Op. cit., III, 1, 135, cf. Pippidi, *RCl*, p. 131, n. 1.

⁴² *CIL*, XIV, Suppl. 4319, cf. Pippidi, *RCl*, 130 f. *Domus Augusti* is much the rarer form: contrast the relative frequencies of *numen Augusti* and *numen Augustum*, which is exceptional (*CIL*, XI, 3303, cf. Taylor, *AJPh*, 1937, p. 189, Pippidi, *RCl*, pp. 40, n. 1, 47).

⁴³ Cf. the "Virtues," Chapter II, section iv, subsection A.

⁴⁴ Cf. von Premerstein, p. 66.

⁴⁵ Cf. Pippidi, *RCl*, p. 139. Ibid., p. 129, the *gens* and *domus Augusta* are described as synonymous. But their emphases are different: *domus* stresses the "household" aspect, whereas the *gens* was a whole clan including several families.

writing after 31 A.D. and probably after 37,⁴⁶ speaks of the *divina domus*;⁴⁷ and inscriptions indicate that the same phrase was already being employed in the latter half of the principate of Tiberius. A Gallic community, Nasium, dedicates *pro perpetua salute divinae domus*,⁴⁸ apparently just after the fall of Sejanus.⁴⁹ The phrase *divina domus*⁵⁰ seems at first sight to anticipate the times of Nero or Domitian rather than to mirror the unpretentiousness of Tiberius, but in reality the phrase is not, in its inception, so adulatory to his person as it sounds: as so often its veneration is rather directed to his predecessor. For its meaning at this stage is not so much "the divine House" (though it is easy to see that confusion, and evolution towards that significance, could occur⁵¹) as "the house of the *divi*," and, in particular, "the house of the *divus*"⁵²—referring not to Julius⁵³ but Augustus, who had, incidentally, been called *divinus* by writers even in his lifetime.⁵⁴ The exceptional character of his posthumous position under Tiberius⁵⁵ makes it understandable that the Julian household—into which, after all, Tiberius himself had not even been born⁵⁶—should have come to be described as the *domus* not so much of Tiberius the *princeps* as of Augustus the *divus*.

⁴⁶ Cf. Rose, *Handbook of Latin Literature*, p. 358 and n. 52.

⁴⁷ *Fab.*, V, 7, 8, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 123, 128 and n. 3.

⁴⁸ *CIL*, XIII, 4635, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 137, cf. p. 132.

⁴⁹ Cf. Charlesworth, *HTR*, 1936, p. 112, n. 14.

⁵⁰ For references see particularly Eitrem, *Symbolae Osloenses*, XI, 1932, pp. 11 ff., Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 86, n. 3, Pippidi, *RCI*, 11.cc., Ensslin, *SB München*, 1943 (VI), pp. 37, 71 ff.

⁵¹ Cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 133 f.

⁵² Mowat, *La Domus Divina et les Divi*, pp. 1 ff., cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 132, n. 1.

⁵³ As Mowat, *op. cit.* Julius was not emphasized at this time, cf. Gag  , *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, pp. 23, 36, Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 132, n. 1; the *sidus Iulium* (cf. Scott, *CP*, 1941, p. 257) sometimes appears (e.g. no. 14: Plate I, 21) but it had become associated with Augustus.

⁵⁴ E.g. by Vitruvius, *prooem.*, *divina tua mens*, cf. Alf  ldi, *R  m. Mitt.*, 1934, p. 32. Largus and Seneca wrote similarly of Claudius.

⁵⁵ Cf. below, section iii.

⁵⁶ Some imperial freedmen enfranchised by Tiberius even after A.D. 4 still seem to have been called Claudius rather than Julius, cf. Scramuzza, *EC*, pp. 141 f.

These ideas of the *gens Iulia* and *Augusta*, and the *domus Augusta* and *divina*, were full of autocratic potentialities, but at Rome Tiberius kept them within ostensible Republican bounds. No doubt, too, he kept an eye on the practices, in such matters, of citizens outside Rome. But adulation went farther in the remoter citizen communities than in Rome, and farther still in the peregrine areas of the empire;⁵⁷ and the family feeling of Caligula greatly enhanced the Augustan house at Rome itself.⁵⁸ The *cives Romani* at Corinth under Tiberius were on the way to such developments; and Corinth, which alone commemorates the *Gens Iulia* on coinage, was well qualified to take the lead, for that colony had always taken a particular interest in the junior members of the imperial house.⁵⁹ However, even if the Corinthians missed no opportunities of flattery, the stage which they had reached on the way to dynasty-worship was a comparatively early one; and it may well be that the cult of the *Gens Iulia* there exceptionally recorded showed little deviation or development, other than by the inevitable addition of himself as *divus*, from the practice of Augustus.

(ii) The younger Julio-Claudians

The representation by our colonies of the individual princes of the *Gens Iulia* does not go beyond Augustan precedent. Three and perhaps four of the fourteen *coloniae civium Romanorum* to which Tiberian coinage is here assigned—Hippo Diarrhytus, Thapsus, Corinth(?), Sinope (nos. 19, 26, 28, 31, 46, 53: Plate II, 6, III, 6, IV, 3, V, 9(?), 16)—portray Drusus junior (Thapsus several times). None of our colonies, however, seems to depict Germanicus.⁶⁰ This does not, however, much illuminate the problem, of which so much

⁵⁷ E.g. Gangra oath (3 B.C.) should perhaps be restored to include the phrase $\tau\alpha\upsilon\varsigma \tau[έκ]νους \acute{\epsilon}γγό[νους \tauε] \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$: von Premierstein, pp. 45 ff.

⁵⁸ Cf. Balsdon, pp. 29 ff., 41 ff.

⁵⁹ Cf. *FITA*, p. 268.

⁶⁰ This is on the assumption that a small Corinthian(?) piece with GER·—DRV· is not a colonial issue of Tiberius: see Appendix 1.

has been written lately,⁶¹ of the relative position of the two princes while both were still alive. For the coins of Thapsus and Sinope to which reference has been made are demonstrably later than the death of Germanicus (A.D. 19); the same is almost certainly true of the issue of Hippos, and, according to Edwards,⁶² of the Corinthian coin also (A.D. c. 22-23). The apparent absence of Germanicus and Drusus junior from the coinage of these cities during the first *quinquennium* of Tiberius provides a contrast to Spain, where five cities celebrated both these princes on their issues of that period (e.g. Plate VII, 5). These Spanish communities mostly preserved a nice balance as regards the relative importance of the two men⁶³ (as had Corinth even under Augustus—adding Agrippa Postumus as well⁶⁴); only Romula seems slightly to prefer Germanicus (Plate VII, 7).⁶⁵

Without throwing any light on the relative importance of the two princes while both were alive, our present coinages, like an issue of Tarraco,⁶⁶ merely illustrate the known elevation of Drusus junior, after the death of Germanicus, to a position which neither had enjoyed before A.D. 19.⁶⁷ This was the first occasion on which a *princeps* had raised his own son to such a position; and it has caused

⁶¹ See Drexler, *Auf dem Wege zum nationalpolitischen Gymnasium*, 1939, p. 151, Kornemann, *RG*, II, p. 151, Stuart, *CP*, 1940, pp. 64 ff., Allen, *TAPA*, 1941, pp. 1 ff., Betz, *JAIW*, 1943, *Beiblatt*, p. 131, especially Rogers, pp. 89 ff., and the probably right conclusion of Bilsdon, *JRS*, 1945, p. 146 (agreeing with Rogers, etc.), that there was little to choose between the two princes in this respect. But the somewhat cryptic testimony of Velleius II, 116.1, 125.4, 129.2, 130.3 f., needs reconsideration as a probable reflection of the official view of A.D. 30: Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 6, considers that he prefers Drusus to Germanicus.

⁶² *Corinth*, VI, p. 20, no. 44.

⁶³ Cr. IVNCTIO at Ilici: Vives, IV, p. 42, no. 10; Plate VI, 6, Chapter II, section v.

⁶⁴ *FITA*, p. 268; cf. last section.

⁶⁵ Vives, IV, p. 124, no. 4 (GERMANICVS CAESAR TI·AVG·F·). This is—exceptionally—not paralleled, as far as we know, by a similar issue in honour of Drusus; though *ibid.* 2 offers the usual honours to the two princes together. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 36, quotes an issue for Drusus junior at Italica: but there is a parallel one for Germanicus.

⁶⁶ Vives, IV, p. 132, no. 20 (DRVSVS CAES·TRIB·POT·, IVLIA AVGVSTA); cf. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 37, Hill, *NVM*, 50, 1931, p. 48; Plate VII, 3.

⁶⁷ Cf. Gardthausen, *RE*, X, 433, Kuntz, *Tiberius Caesar and the Roman Constitution*, p. 58, Hammond, p. 239, nn. 42, 68.

the year 19 to be described as an important moment in Roman imperial history.⁶⁸ The issues of Sinope, Hippo and Thapsus suggest that this development was noticeable almost immediately after Germanicus died. The coin of Sinope (Plate V, 16) is dated to A.D. 19-20; and those of the two African cities were already being issued by A.D. 21.⁶⁹

It is possible that Tiberius delegated to Drusus junior certain tasks of colonial foundation⁷⁰—and even conceivably, through the latter's *tribunicia potestas* conferred in A.D. 22, the *ius senatus consulendi* comprising the right to become *auctor* of *senatusconsulta*.⁷¹ An issue of colonia Tarraco inscribed DRVSVS CAES· TRIB· POT· (Plate VII, 3), may well celebrate the conferment of the *tribunicia potestas* itself; Tarraco, as a provincial centre, had already shewn signs of an interest in that power unusual for colonies and their coinages.⁷² Corinth likewise was a leading colony, and one interested in potential heirs. Its issue honouring Drusus junior (?) (Plate V, 9) is ascribed to A.D. c. 22-23; thus it too may perhaps commemorate the conferment on Drusus of the tribunician power. But except for the fact that the elevation of the *princeps'* own son presented the dynastic aspect in an unprecedentedly vivid form, there was nothing exceptional about these honours to Drusus junior: for all of them precedents could be found, singly or severally, in the principate of Augustus.

Still less was there anything striking about the honours paid to Nero and Drusus, the sons of Germanicus, who, in part, took the place of Drusus junior as heirs to the principate after the latter's death.⁷³ One of our colonies, Corinth, offers a possible parallel (no. 47) to the numismatic honours accorded to them by *municipium*

⁶⁸ Kornemann, *DR*, p. 41.

⁶⁹ See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection A.

⁷⁰ See Appendix 5.

⁷¹ Cf. above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C.

⁷² See above, Chapter II, section i.

⁷³ Cf. von Premerstein, p. 66 and n. 2, Wickert, *Klio*, 1939, p. 336, n. 2, Hohl, *Klio*, 1942, p. 243.

Tingis in Mauretania⁷⁴ and by Spanish colonies such as Caesaraugusta (Plate VI, 1) and Carthago Nova (Plate VI, 4).⁷⁵ At these Spanish cities the young princes are described as *duoviri* and *duoviri quinquennales* respectively.⁷⁶ Carthago Nova also shows a portrait of Caligula before the end of the principate of Tiberius (Plate VI, 3),⁷⁷ and at Caesaraugusta he is a *duovir* represented by a *praefectus*,⁷⁸ phenomena for which no parallel can be cited from the coinage of our non-Spanish colonies.⁷⁹

But like Nero Germanici f. before him (and others before that), Caligula had a junior co-heir; and unlike Caligula, this co-heir, Ti. Julius Nero (Gemellus), the son of Drusus junior, seems to be represented among our issues. For on a coin of Paestum (no. 8: Plate I, 12-14) the legend, as far as it is decipherable, appears to be L·CAEL(ius) FLA(men) [TI·]AVG(usti), TI·CAESAR IIVIR(i).⁸⁰ The second duoviral name cannot be that of the *princeps* Tiberius: his name could not come second on a coin of his own principate,⁸¹ to which the legend TI·AVG· (supported by iconographical considerations) ascribes this piece. But the tombstone of Ti. Gemellus confirms that his official style was, as might be expected, Ti. Caesar;⁸² and the second name on the Paestan issue is likely to be his.

If this is so, we have a prince yielding the first place in a duoviral college to a "commoner." But there is no serious difficulty about this; and it is quite possible that, in the time of Augustus, an earlier *princeps*-to-be Tiberius had, at another Roman colony, Cnossus,

⁷⁴ See Appendix 2. This coin might be of Caligulan date, *NC*, 1948, p. 114.

⁷⁵ Vives, IV, pp. 82, 37, n. 37.

⁷⁶ Cf. Abaecherli Boyce, *NNM*, 109, 1947, p. 23 and n. 32. They held many such duovirates and quinquennialian duovirates, *ibid.*, pp. 24 and 37; for a possible example of the latter at Utica, see Appendix 2.

⁷⁷ Vives, IV, p. 37, no. 41.

⁷⁸ Vives, IV, p. 82, nos. 54 f.; cf. above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C.

⁷⁹ For such honours cf. Kornemann, *DR*, p. 47, n. 7, Balsdon, p. 18 and n. 1.

⁸⁰ For L. Caelius see above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C.

⁸¹ Cf. *FITA*, p. 263, against Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 91 (for Caesaraugusta; where Fulvianus is probably the *praefectus* of a prince). Indeed the *princeps* as *duovir* usually (though not always) lacked a colleague.

⁸² *CIL*, VI, 892.

likewise taken second place.⁸³ Admittedly there the "commoner" had apparently been not merely *duovir* but *praefectus Augusti*, but the Paestan coin may present a partial parallel to this, for L. Caelius, even if not *praefectus Ti. Augusti*, may well have obtained similar priority on the grounds of his post as *flamen Ti. Augusti*:⁸⁴ this perhaps entitled him, rather than Ti. Gemellus, to the position of *duovir comitalis*, that is, senior *duovir*.⁸⁵ In view of the cautious attitude of the second *princeps* towards his last co-heirs, Caligula and Gemellus,⁸⁶ as earlier (to a less extent) to Nero and Drusus, it is not surprising to find Gemellus here not only in the second place but apparently also unrepresented by a *praefectus*: for in about the thirties A.D., after the fall of Nero and Drusus, the appointment of *praefecti* for younger princes decreased considerably in number and perhaps ceased altogether.⁸⁷

If this interpretation of its coinage is correct, Paestum joins other *oppida civium Romanorum*, such as Alba Pompeia⁸⁸ and another,⁸⁹ in honouring Ti. Gemellus. But as usual the Roman cities did not go so far in the direction of dynastic flattery as peregrine Eastern cities. For example, Philadelphia placed his head on its coinage,⁹⁰ apparently still during the lifetime of his grandfather Tiberius,⁹¹ in whose company a second coin, of an uncertain Asian mint, seems to represent him.⁹² Caligula, then, did not monopolise the honours

⁸³ See Appendix 1.

⁸⁴ For this, see above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C, p. 25.

⁸⁵ For this as the senior post, cf. Hardy, *Roman Laws and Charters*, p. 69, *FITA*, p. 196, n. 13 (Agrigentum).

⁸⁶ Cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, pp. 642, 652, etc.

⁸⁷ See above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C, pp. 26 f.

⁸⁸ *ILS*, 171.

⁸⁹ Giglioli, *Bullettino archeologico comunale di Roma*, 1930, pp. 150 f. = *AE*, 1933, p. 25, no. 94.

⁹⁰ Imhoof-Blumer, *LS*, p. 120, no. 24, correcting *GM*, p. 52(576), no. 47, cf. also Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, VIII, p. 204, Gardthausen, *RE*, X, 536.

⁹¹ The Tiberian portraiture, and the type of thunderbolt imitated from late Tiberian *aes* are against the suggestion of Imhoof-Blumer, *LS*, p. 120, cf. Bosch, II, 1, p. 24, that this was a memorial coinage.

⁹² Cast at Winterthur: TIBEPI . . . laureate head of Tiberius to right—TIB· head of Gemellus(?) to right. For other honours to Gemellus by peregrine cities cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 624.

of heirship in the last period of Tiberius;⁹³ and indeed we know that so high an official as A. Avillius Flaccus, prefect of Egypt, believed in the prospects of Ti. Gemellus.⁹⁴ Our colonial coinages do not illuminate the earliest years of Gemellus, in which official issues of Rome⁹⁵ and Cyrene,⁹⁶ and lead tokens,⁹⁷ had represented him with his twin brother Ti. Julius Germanicus.⁹⁸

The heirs of Tiberius received honours in these cases less conspicuous, and in no case more conspicuous, than had the heirs of Augustus during the latter's lifetime. Indeed, none of the heirs of Tiberius possessed the power and *auctoritas* which he himself had attained during the last years of his adoptive father's lifetime; though Drusus junior might well have achieved these before long if he had lived.

(iii) Divus Augustus

To the question of his heirs and their honours, Tiberius could apply his customary Augustan yard-stick. But a situation to which no such criterion could be applied was provided by the death and deification of Augustus himself.⁹⁹ The position of the new *divus* was much greater than had been that of Divus Julius in the preceding principate.¹⁰⁰ The outstanding character of the reputation of Divus Augustus in the decades immediately following his death is illustrated by his predominance on the official coinages of Tiberi-

⁹³ As Balsdon, p. 18.

⁹⁴ Philo, *In Flacc.*, 9, 22, cf. Gelzer, *RE*, X, 384, Balsdon, p. 132.

⁹⁵ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 133, no. 95 (busts in *cornuacopice*).

⁹⁶ *BMC Cyrenaica*, pp. ccxxv ff., p. 121, nos. 49 ff.

⁹⁷ Dressel, *ZfN*, 1922, p. 182: Berlin collection (TI·IVLIVS GER· TI· IVLIVS NERO).

⁹⁸ On the deceased elder brother of these princes see Hohl, *Klio*, 1942, p. 234, n. 3, Rogers, pp. 95, 96, n. 23.

⁹⁹ Cf. the attempts of Tiberius to achieve a titulature that would not invite comparison, see above Chapter II, section i.

¹⁰⁰ For the "soft-peddalling" of Julius under Augustus see Syme, *RR*, pp. 317 f., *JRS*, 1938, p. 125, *FITA*, p. 442; for a continuance of this under Tiberius see Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, pp. 23, 36, Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 132, n. 1, cf. above, section i, and Chapter II, section i.

us.¹⁰¹ Nor do the Tiberian mintages of Roman colonies and *municipia* fall short in this respect. Ten of them show portraits of the deified first *princeps*. These include our non-Spanish *coloniae* Panormus, Achulla, Dyrrhachium, Corinth and Cnossus (?) (nos. 11, 14, 41, 42 and 49: Plate I, 16, 21, V, 1, 3, 4, 11, 12); while in Spain the same phenomenon occurs at the Roman colonies of Romula, Emerita (Plate VII, 8), Tarraco and Caesaraugusta, and at *municipium* Turiaso. In each case the head of the deified Augustus is radiate, except only at Cnossus (?), where it seems to be bare.

This great emphasis on Divus Augustus is appropriate to the vast part played by his posthumous figure—despite the customary *moderatio* as regards extravagant flattery of his memory¹⁰²—in Tiberian policy. The present writer has, in *Roman Anniversary Issues*, endeavoured to illustrate the punctilious and repeated care with which Tiberius celebrated Augustan anniversaries, and indeed to show that the occasions for his official coinage largely consisted of these.¹⁰³ It has been suggested that the Tiberian phrase *divina domus* originally meant “the House of *the* DIVUS,” namely Augustus;¹⁰⁴ and similarly, when Tiberius commemorated *decennia* and *vicennia*, he was commemorating the anniversaries not so much of his own rule as of the deification of Augustus. For many years after the latter’s death, the cities of the empire continued to coin in his name.¹⁰⁵ Tiberius’ own name “Augustus” was still far more closely associated with the dead man than with the ruling emperor,¹⁰⁶ and *Victoria*, *Felicitas*, *Pax Augusti*, etc., under Tiberius carried an allusion to Augustus himself.¹⁰⁷ Indeed it sometimes seemed as though Tiberius never considered himself more than a regent on earth for the real *princeps*, still Augustus. The second principate

¹⁰¹ *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 124, 130, 134, 136, 140 ff.

¹⁰² Cf. Rogers, pp. 72, 84, etc.

¹⁰³ *RAI*, Chapter III.

¹⁰⁴ See above, section i, p. 97.

¹⁰⁵ *FITA*, pp. 328 ff., 463 ff.

¹⁰⁶ See above, Chapter II, section i.

¹⁰⁷ See above, Chapter II, sections iii and iv.

witnessed the vital stages in the development of the vastly important institution of *divus* worship,¹⁰⁸ and, like the cognate institution of the *divina domus*, it centred round Augustus.

The main formulae by which the official coinage of Tiberius honoured Augustus were two in number—DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER, which figured largely on the *aes*¹⁰⁹ (as well as at Emerita [Plate VII, 8] and Tarraco), and DIVOS AVGVST· DIVI F·, on the official gold and silver.¹¹⁰ None of our five colonies which commemorated Augustus imitated either of these titulatures exactly. Likewise, no parallel is found to the DEO AVGVSTO illustrating a temple on one of Tarraco's coins (Plate VI, 8);¹¹¹ this phrase soon recurs on inscriptions¹¹² and in writings,¹¹³ but it does not reach the official coinage until an Augustan anniversary as late as Gallienus.¹¹⁴

Four of the five non-Spanish colonies celebrating Augustus can be dismissed very briefly: Panormus (Plate I, 16) and Corinth (Plate V, 4) add no descriptive legend to their portraits of Augustus, whereas Cnossus (?) (Plate V, 11, 12) and probably Achulla (Plate I, 21) describe him in the simplest orthodox form—DIVOS AVG. At Dyrhachium, on the other hand, though the radiate head shows that the coins were posthumous, we find merely AVG·, accompanied by no indication of divinity (no. 41: Plate V, 1, 3). This is a phenomenon to which Pella (nos. 34, 37: Plate IV, 6, 9) provides a parallel in the form given to the patronymic of the reigning

¹⁰⁸ For a recent short bibliography see Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 11, n. 2. Add d'Ors Pérez Peix, *Emerita*, 1942, pp. 197 ff., id., *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 1942/3, pp. 33 ff. (the latter not seen by the present writer), Sullivan, *Classical Weekly*, 1944.

¹⁰⁹ *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 140 ff.

¹¹⁰ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 124, nos. 28 f. Entirely irregular (and aiming only at symmetry) is the *Divo Caesari divi Iulii f. Augusto* of *ILS*, 115: cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 108, n. 4.

¹¹¹ Vives, IV, p. 131, nos. 10-13. For a recent bibliography see d'Ors Pérez Peix, *Emerita*, 1942, p. 205, n. 1.

¹¹² E.g. *ILS*, 9495, cf. Abaecherli (now Abaecherli-Boyce), *SMSR*, 1935, p. 179, Saria, *JAIW*, 1941, *Beiblatt*, p. 8. Cf. *Liviae Augusti deae municipium*, *CIL*, X, 7464, Ollendorff, *RE*, XIII, 1, 913.

¹¹³ For a study of *Caesari deo nostro* (Seneca, *De Tranquillitate Animi*, XIV, 9), see Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 75 ff.; p. 93 for Martial, *Epigr.*, II, 59, V, 64, 6 (Augustus as *deus*).

¹¹⁴ *RAI*, Chapter VII, section i.

princeps: he is described as TI· CAESAR AVG·F·AVGVSTVS. This omission of *divus* and *deus* occurs also in early literature—for example in the writings of (Valerius ?) Largus¹¹⁵—as well as in inscriptions.¹¹⁶ In the East it recalls the use of plain Σεβαστός, without Θεός, that prevailed at peregrine cities for many years after the death of Augustus;¹¹⁷ and it seems probable that Dyrrhachium and Pella, being Eastern, are merely translating this usage into Latin. Αὐγοῦστος was occasionally used in the same way;¹¹⁸ and an even closer parallel to our coins of Dyrrhachium is provided by *colonia* Olbasa, of which the first known issues, under Antoninus Pius, bear portraits of Divus Augustus inscribed merely AVGVSTVS.¹¹⁹ Under Hadrian, likewise in the East, the same phenomenon was found on the official coinage, in which silver tetradrachms, apparently issued on an anniversary occasion, bore heads of Augustus inscribed IMP· CAESAR AVGVSTVS, again without DIVVS.¹²⁰ It has been argued elsewhere by the present writer that these usages are owed to the νέος Θεός—Θεὸς ἐπιφανής conception.¹²¹

The comparable omission of DIVVS from the Tiberian pieces here attributed to Dyrrhachium is not surprising. But it calls for more comment at Pella. For Pella, unlike Dyrrhachium, was in the old Royal Macedonia. There, even peregrine cities described the divine Augustus on their coins, not merely as Σεβαστός—as (with overwhelming regularity) did the rest of the Greek world—but as Θεὸς Σεβαστός¹²² (Θεός representing *divus*).¹²³ The present writ-

¹¹⁵ Helmreich, 31, 177, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 144.

¹¹⁶ E.g. *CIL*, XIII, 4635 (?) (Nasium), *CIL*, III, 1698 = 138136, *ILS*, 151, 161, 2281, 3320, 5516; a number of these are irregular in other respects also. Cf. Abaecherli, *SMR*, 1935, p. 164, n. 1, Vulić, *Klio*, 1942, p. 177.

¹¹⁷ *FITA*, p. 360.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

¹¹⁹ Hill, *Anatolian Studies to Ramsay*, p. 221, cf. *FITA*, p. 361.

¹²⁰ *BMC. Imp.*, III, p. 395, no. 1094, cf. pp. clvii, clxi, *RAI*, Chapter V, section iii.

¹²¹ *FITA*, pp. 360 f.

¹²² *FITA*, p. 374.

¹²³ Dio Cassius was to prefer ἡμίθεος (Pippidi, *RHSE*, 1941 = *AT*, p. 136, n. 2, Carcopino, *Points de Vue sur L'Impérialisme Romain*, p. 120, n. 4), no doubt thinking of the distinction between *divus* and *deus* (Schwering, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 1914/15, pp. 1 ff., 39 f., Weber, p. 86*, n. 399, Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 93, n. 3, 95).

er has ascribed this practice, peculiar to Royal Macedonia, to a survival of the traditional Antigonid distaste for the worship of living rulers.¹²⁴ This sentiment seems to have motivated the addition of the word $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ to distinguish the dead from the living ruler, a distinction which was blurred to Greeks living elsewhere but seems to have meant something to the Greek communities of Macedonia. However, this attitude does not seem to have been shared by their Roman neighbour Pella, which calls Tiberius AVG·F· rather than DIVI AVG·F. If Pella is translating from the Greek, it ignored the "Antigonid" practice of the Greek cities of Macedonia, and, like Dyrrhachium at the other end of the *Via Egnatia* (outside Royal Macedonia), followed the ordinary Greek practice of considering the word $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ (alone) to carry the significance of actual deification.

But this explanation, based as it is on the assumption of a Hellenising usage, will scarcely suit two Spanish cities, *colonia* Caesar-augusta¹²⁵ and *municipium* Turiaso,¹²⁶ which omit *divus* in precisely the same way but are unlikely to have been inspired by Greek ways of thought. Perhaps these cities were the more ready to omit the divine epithet owing to an imperfect understanding of the *nuances* of ruler-worship in Italy itself. The living Augustus had never officially been *deus* or even *divus* to citizens,¹²⁷ but his *Genius*¹²⁸ and his *Numen*¹²⁹ had been worshipped; so Caesaraugusta and Turiaso—and the same may apply to some extent to Dyrrhachium and Pella—perhaps did not realise that the worship, in Augustus' lifetime, of his *Genius* and *Numen* was not the same thing as worshipping his

¹²⁴ *FITA*, pp. 374 f.

¹²⁵ Vives, IV, p. 82, no. 53.

¹²⁶ Vives, IV, p. 94, no. 18.

¹²⁷ But for the usage of Horace, etc., see now D. Norberg, *Eranos Rudbergianus*, 1946, pp. 389 ff.

¹²⁸ Sources are given by Pippidi, *RCl*, pp. 9 ff., 19, n. 1. Weinstock, *JRS*, 1946, p. 112, n. 67, quotes the unknown Aufustius in a definition of the half-divine status of the *Genius*: *Genius . . . est deorum filius et parens hominum, ex quo homines gignuntur* (Verrius Flaccus, in the epitome of Festus epitomised by Paulus Diaconus, p. 214[L]).

¹²⁹ References in Pippidi, *RCl*, pp. 9 ff., 47 ff. (49, n. 3), 193 ff. See also now Wagenvoort, pp. 73 ff.

living person. If they had worshipped him in his lifetime, it was hardly necessary to add *divus* to his name when he was dead.

These colonial usages are only minor aberrations, which vary slightly the general picture of Divus Augustus drawn by Tiberian officials and cities. The unlimited reiteration of the theme, in one guise or another, bears witness to the dilemma with which Tiberius was faced. Careful as he was to regulate all other matters (such as the honours to younger relatives) by Augustan precedents, precedents could not be applied to the posthumous position of their creator any more than they could be applied to his own titulature.

(iv) Julia Augusta

A. JULIA AUGUSTA AS GODDESS AND "VIRTUE"

Tiberius could not, then, apply his customary standard, that of the practice of Augustus, to the position after death of that *princeps* himself. The same difficulty applied, with even greater force, to the entirely new position of the widow of Augustus after the latter's death. Livia appears on the coinages of the empire, and of the colonies which are the subject of the present study, in three more or less distinct rôles—as goddess, as "Virtue," and as priestess. In the present section the first two of these manifestations will be briefly considered in turn.

Livia appears as a goddess at Thapsus if the legend should be restored IVN(o) AVG(*usta*) (or the Dative) (nos. 22, 23: Plate III, 1, 2). At the same city we find a dedication to a seated figure inscribed CERERI AVGVSTAE (no. 21: Plate II, 9); while a representation at Panormus (no. 12: Plate I, 17) shows another, resembling the "Livia as priestess" type,¹³⁰ but with the corn-ears which, at Thapsus, both accompany Ceres and also encircle the head of IVN·AVG. Of the Panormus coin more will be said later; but Thapsus at least, on these two different coins, seems to identify Livia

¹³⁰ On this see subsection B.

with Juno and Ceres respectively—and these identifications of her are here the commonest of all such associations.¹³¹ They are both paralleled at peregrine cities.¹³² Both were current well before the death of Augustus.¹³³ In the reign of her son, under whom she possessed local *flamines* and *flaminicae*,¹³⁴ Livia was described by *colonia* Romula as GENETRIX ORBIS¹³⁵ (Plate VII, 6) and in Gaul as Maia.¹³⁶ In the East she seems to have been identified with Hecate¹³⁷ and perhaps Isis.¹³⁸

¹³¹ Cf. Taylor, *DRE*, p. 232. For Livia as Juno, see especially Ward, *SMSR*, 1933, pp. 221 ff. (cf. Augustus as Jupiter, *ibid.*, pp. 203 ff.); cf. on the Ludovisi Juno, Jongkees, *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van te Antieke Beschaving*, XVII, 1, pp. 13 ff. Livia's figure on the "Paris Cameo" is described as Ceres, e.g. by Curtius, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1934, p. 120, but Gag  , *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 19, cf. n. 1, suggests that there she may rather be in the r  le of *Felicitas*. Her prominence on this cameo is emphasized by Kornemann, *DR*, p. 38, n. 1; Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 634; Last, *JRS*, 1943, p. 105; cf. Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 156. On the "Vienna Cameo" (*Gemma Augustea*) she is described by Schwartz, *RPh.*, 1945, p. 60, as in the r  le of "Latin Ceres."

The value of these cameos as historical evidence is affected by the uncertainty of their dates. For the "Paris Cameo" see Hohl, *Klio*, 1942, pp. 227 ff., *ibid.*, 1943, p. 144, against Schweitzer, Curtius, Piganiol, etc. The "Vienna Cameo" is usually considered Augustan, but it is attributed with some plausibility to the reign of Tiberius by Ros-tovtzeff, *History of the Ancient World*, II, *Rome*, p. 186.

¹³² E.g. Ceres at Sardes, Tralles, Syedra, Thessalonica, Panormus; Juno at Pergamum, Tarsus and Perinthus. This list contains doubtful cases, which cannot be discussed here.

¹³³ E.g. *ILS*, 120 (cf. 119, 121), cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cxxxvi. But Rohde, *RE*, XVIII, 1, 753, against Jordan, *R  mische Mythologie*, II, p. 23, Grether, *AJP*, 1946, p. 226, n. 21, discounts the possibility that the Roman altars to Ceres and Ops in 7 A.D. were in honour of Livia.

¹³⁴ E.g. *ILS*, 6896, 7160.

¹³⁵ Vives, IV, p. 124, n. 3, cf. Alf  ldi, *R  m. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 99, n. 2 (*κοσμοκράτωρ* idea), Willrich, p. 57, Kornemann, *GFA*, pp. 206, 422, n. 22, who points out that the crescent under the bust anticipates the ruler-portrait of the Severi. Possibly the Boscoreale cup depicts Livia as Venus Genetrix, Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 128, Ros-tovtzeff, *SEH*, p. 76 = *SES*, Plates VII, XIII; cf. perhaps also the Ravenna relief (Ollendorff, *RE*, XIII, 913, Grether, *AJP*, 1946, p. 229, Seltman, loc. cit., p. 160, etc.) and coins of Agrippias Caesarea, *BMC. Pontus*, etc., p. 1, nos. 1 ff., *Ars Classica* (Levis) sale XI (1925), 264, Willrich, p. 67. Ovid describes Livia as Venus and Vesta, cf. Ollendorff, loc. cit., 914. Colin, *RA*, 1946, pp. 40 ff., stresses the importance attached to Venus in this principate.

But the crescent also recalls the Stoic doctrine *Minervam esse Lunam*, Arnobius 3.31, cf. Weinstock, *JRS*, 1946, p. 107, n. 39, and next note but one.

¹³⁶ *ILS*, 3208, cf. Link, *RE*, xiv, 533.

¹³⁷ Buresch, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1894, p. 116 and n. 4, doubted by Willrich, p. 67, who, however, cites also *CIL*, XI, 3859, *Diana Augusta*. Cf. also last note but one (end).

¹³⁸ *IGRR*, I, 1150, cf. Ollendorff, *RE*, XIII, 1, 917, Buresch, loc. cit.

Much has been written on these themes, but the two usages of Thapsus appear to introduce certain novelties. In the first place, if they refer to Livia, they are well ahead of the practice of main official coinages, on which, at least during her lifetime, Livia was identified with no goddess at all. Secondly, the official coinage calls no goddess *Augusta* until the principate of Claudius, when Ceres is described in this way.¹³⁹

In the CERES AVGVSTA of Claudius, it is not customary to discover a reference to Livia¹⁴⁰ or any other imperial lady; similarly, it is often unlikely that "Virtues" on official issues had any such intentions.¹⁴¹ These considerations might inspire doubts whether the IVN·AVG· and CERERI AVGVSTAE of Thapsus under Tiberius were really designed to carry any allusion to her. But, on the whole, the Thapsus pieces do not seem to warrant such doubts. The Juno head looks like Livia; and it was easier, in her lifetime, for colonial issues to associate her with Ceres and Juno than for Roman coinage to do so. Indeed after her death, too, Claudius may have wished to compare her to the goddess Ceres by his numismatically unprecedented addition of the word "Augusta" to the latter's name, since it was he who consecrated Livia.¹⁴² If so, his gesture may to some extent have been anticipated by another official mint, namely that of Alexandria, at which, even under Augustus, the closely related concept *Euthenia* may conceivably have been intended to represent Livia.¹⁴³

If we hold that the *Ceres Augusta* of Thapsus is Livia, we are justified in asking whether the same does not apply, at an earlier date, to the appearance of the same deity on an issue of *colonia* Lystra

¹³⁹ BMC. Imp., I, p. 183, no. 136. The first personification to be called *Augusta* on the official coinage was *Salus* under Tiberius, BMC. Imp., I, p. 131, no. 81.

¹⁴⁰ Though this is perhaps suggested by BMC. Imp., I, p. clvi.

¹⁴¹ Cf. RAI, Chapter III, section i.

¹⁴² Cf. Nock, CAH, X, p. 498.

¹⁴³ Cf. Milne, *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*, p. 1, no. 23; this is the interpretation of Willrich, p. 67, n. 1. In the principate of Augustus Livia had also appeared on an official coinage of Bithynia (M. Granius Marcellus, FITA, p. 145), and at *municipium* Turiaso (ibid., p. 169, and n. 2).

reading CERERIS:¹⁴⁴ at any rate this is the suggestion which the type might convey to those who saw it. But this Lystra coin shows no sign of AVGVSTAE, and, on reconsideration of its portrait, it should be reattributed from Augustus to Claudius.¹⁴⁵ Thus it is not the earliest colonial issue to name Ceres; and the *princeps* under whom this first occurred seems to have been Tiberius, at Thapsus.¹⁴⁶ A minor innovation of this kind was not out of keeping with his policy, since he paid great attention to the corn-supply,¹⁴⁷ and also restored the temple which Ceres shared with Liber and Libera.¹⁴⁸

Ceres Augusta has a familiar ring, but *Juno Augusta* is most unusual: throughout the imperial coinage of all periods we find instead merely IVNO. We may compare other rare non-Roman occurrences, with the same Augustan epithet, of Apollo, Mercury, Minerva, Vesta and Diana.¹⁴⁹ On no. 22 of Thapsus (IVN·AVG·), the bust has been interpreted as showing a wreath of corn-ears; such a wreath is also found round Livia's head, not only on peregrine issues, but on a lead piece of Rome itself.¹⁵⁰ At Thapsus, again, nos. 25, 27 and 30, as well as no. 12 at Panormus (Plate III, 5 and 7, IV, 2 and I, 17-18) modify the well-known "Livia as priestess" type¹⁵¹ to place in her hand, instead of the usual priestly *patera*, two ears of corn. These suggest an analogy with the corn-wreathed heads at Thapsus labelled as IVN·AVG·; whereas our other "Livia as priestess" figures, in all cases where they are explicitly labelled, are described not in terms of goddesses, but as IVLIA AVGVSTA (nos. 18, 49 and 51: Plate II, 4, V, 11; cf. also VIII, 11)—as at Ro-

¹⁴⁴ *FITA*, p. 250, and Plate VIII, 11 there.

¹⁴⁵ The obverse legend will then terminate (or begin) with the words IMP·AVG. This designation might seem inappropriate to Claudius; but Lystra was a long way from Rome, and in any case IMP·AVG· might be Divus Augustus (cf. last section).

¹⁴⁶ For Ceres (unnamed) under Augustus, see *FITA*, pp. 224, 258.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Rogers, p. 19, etc.

¹⁴⁸ Rogers, p. 18.

¹⁴⁹ Charlesworth, *JRS*, 1943, p. 7, n. 37, Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, pp. 249 f., cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 16 f. (references).

¹⁵⁰ Berlin collection: Dressel, *ZfN*, 1922, p. 182 (A·VITELLIVS CVR·).

¹⁵¹ See below, subsection B.

man cities in Spain (e.g. Plate VI, 9). Thus they differ from our coins of Thapsus and Panormus, on which the human suggestion of the priestess type is combined with an emblem and inscription recalling divinity. Possibly the colonials themselves suffered from a *haesitatio iudicii* on the humanity or divinity of Livia; and the letter of Tiberius to Gythium¹⁵² show how cryptic his instructions on this matter were.

Indeed, a loophole for ambiguity is left by the legend IVN·AVG· itself. For this could mean not only "[to] Juno Augusta"—which is, as has been said, a very rare combination—but also "[to] the *iuno* of the Augusta," for which, in connection with Livia, there are epigraphic parallels.¹⁵³ The *iuno* of a woman was the same as the *genius* of a man;¹⁵⁴ the *genius Augusti* and *iuno Augustae* were Augustan adaptations of traditional ideas.¹⁵⁵ The citizens of Thapsus may well have chosen the ambiguous legend IVN·AVG· deliberately so as to convey both interpretations, *Iuno Augusta* and *iuno Augustae*, simultaneously: for, not only were actual *doubles entendres* on local coinages not unknown,¹⁵⁶ but official Tiberian coin-types, too, often combined a blend of different suggestions and significances.¹⁵⁷

At all events, the IVN·AVG· and CERERI AVGVSTAE coinages of Thapsus seem to have intended some measure of identification of Livia with Juno and Ceres. In possessing and pursuing this in-

¹⁵² Recent contributions to a vast literature include those of Kornemann, *GFA*, pp. 210 ff., *GR*, pp. 90 ff., Scramuzza, *AJP*, 1944, pp. 404 ff., Charlesworth, *Papers of British School at Rome*, XV, pp. 5 ff., Montevocchi, *Epigraphica*, VII, 1945, pp. 104 ff. (references).

¹⁵³ *ILS*, 116, 120; for doubtful examples cf. Taylor, *AJP*, 1937, p. 190, but see Pippidi, *RCl*, p. 198 and n. 2; and Grether, *AJP*, 1946, p. 225 and n. 12.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 135, cf. pp. 87 f., n. 21, Wissowa, *RKR*², p. 180, Weinstock, *JRS*, 1946, p. 127, Wagenvoort, pp. 190 ff.

¹⁵⁵ Nock, *CAH*, X, pp. 480, 484. For a supposed connection of *Genius Augusti* with *Gens Iulia* cf. Poinssot, *Notes et Documents de la Direction des Antiquités de Tunisie*, 1929, pp. 14 ff.; cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, p. 35, *RH*, 1936, pp. 314, 333. For an Augustan coin of *municipium Italica* with GEN(*ius*) P(*opuli*) R(*omani*), see *FITA*, p. 173, cf. perhaps later at Philippi, Kubitschek, *Gnomon*, 1937, p. 24; for this conception see Blanchet, *CRAI*, 1943, July-Sept.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. *FITA*, p. 280.

¹⁵⁷ *RAI*, Chapter III, especially section i; and *NC*, 1949 (in press).

tention, the citizens of Thapsus were, perhaps, behaving less like their fellow *cives Romani* of Rome than like the *peregrini* of Asia.¹⁵⁸ The same is even more clearly true of *colonia* Romula with its extravagant GENETRIX ORBIS (Plate VII, 6).

We may now turn to the "Virtues," as certain of the *numina* consisting of personifications are nowadays called.¹⁵⁹ Admittedly the line between goddesses and "Virtues" is sometimes a little uncertain, but it exists.¹⁶⁰ The present writer has elsewhere emphasized the general and composite character of the "Virtues" which are found on the official issues of Tiberius.¹⁶¹ These "Virtues" on his coinage do not seem to have been primarily intended to compliment Livia, though the imperial authorities probably recognised her as one of the fairly numerous elements in the blend of associations conjured up by the concepts of *Iustitia*, *Iustitia-Pax* and *Pietas*. On the other hand the peregrine East naturally experienced no more difficulty in identifying her with "Virtues" or "Blessings" such as Tyche¹⁶² (if it is right to describe her thus), Pronoia,¹⁶³ Hygieia,¹⁶⁴ etc., than it experienced in equating her with goddesses.

Where do the *coloniae civium Romanorum* stand in the wide space between these two poles? In this case they seem to stand rather nearer to Rome than to the *peregrini*; but there are none the less some notable deviations from metropolitan practice. Pompeii describes her as *Concordia Augusta* on an inscription,¹⁶⁵ and Pella (nos. 38, 39: Plate IV, 10) not only imitates the Roman PIETAS

¹⁵⁸ So were Italian colonies: cf. the many local priests of Tiberius himself, inside and outside Italy, Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 493.

¹⁵⁹ For the description of "Virtues" as *numina* see Mattingly, *HTR*, 1937, pp. 108 f., *BMC. Imp.*, IV, p. xxv, *JRS*, 1943, p. 77.

¹⁶⁰ For a definition of the "Virtues" see Cicero, *De Legibus*, II, 11, 28; he distinguishes "Blessings," cf. Grant, *Univ. of Edinburgh Review*, 1949, p. 232.

¹⁶¹ *RAI*, Chapter III.

¹⁶² E.g. at Gythium: see references above, n. 152.

¹⁶³ Willrich, p. 67, cf. n. 3, Ollendorff, *RE*, XIII, 1, 907, 917 (references), Buresch, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1894, p. 116.

¹⁶⁴ *IG*, III, 460 (Athens), cf. Ollendorff, loc. cit., 907.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Gag , *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 19, n. 1. Ibid., his conjecture that she appears as *Felicitas* on the Paris cameo.

but also adds PIETAS AVGVSTA, to which we may compare the PIETATI[S] AVGVSTAE of Caesaraugusta.¹⁶⁶ It is possible that these colonials, less *versés* than Romans, interpreted the accompanying heads quite simply as Livia; indeed a similar head at Panormus (no. 13: Plate I, 20) is described as plain AVGVS(*ta*). The same almost certainly applies to the issues of other colonies such as Corinth (no. 34: Plate V, 8; cf. no. 43: Plate V, 5) and Patrae (under Caligula),¹⁶⁷ on which similar heads are not labelled.

In the cases of Pella and Caesaraugusta, this same desire to identify the "Virtue" with Livia may have been the purpose of the AVGVSTA added to the name of *Pietas*. But this assumption is by no means necessary. For why should we consider *Pietas Augusta* to be Livia, when we do not necessarily consider *Pax Augusta*, on official coinages or elsewhere, to refer to her? PACE AVG· PERP· at Carthage(?) (no. 17: Plate II, 3) surely has no such meaning.¹⁶⁸ Nor has the *Salus Augusta* invoked by an inscription after the conspiracy of Sejanus,¹⁶⁹ and nor, in all probability, has AETERNITATI[S] AVGVSTAE at Tarraco (Plate VII, 2) and Emerita (Plate VII, 8).¹⁷⁰ But there remains an obstinate suspicion that the citizens of Pella intended PIETAS AVGVSTA, to which the epithet was added by themselves, to reflect honour on Livia in a more direct fashion than did the original PIETAS design placed by their metropolitan counterparts on the coinage of Rome. Even if so, Pella was not behaving in any extraordinary fashion; and indeed, thus far, few or no honours to Livia have been noted which might not also have been found during the principate of Augustus.

¹⁶⁶ Vives, IV, p. 80, 37, cf. Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 92, no. 19, cf. p. 96.

¹⁶⁷ See Appendix 1.

¹⁶⁸ See above, Chapter II, section iv.

¹⁶⁹ *CIL*, XIII, 4635; see above, section i. Cf. SALVS AVGVSTA imitated from Rome by Emerita, Vives, IV, p. 67, no. 66, and SAL·AVG· at Ilici (Plate VI, 7), Vives, IV, p. 41, no. 6, Rogers, p. 28, n. 114. The colonials are very likely to have identified *Salus* with Livia (now deceased, *FITA*, p. 447)—cf. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 36—even if this was not the intention at Rome.

¹⁷⁰ See above, Chapter II, section iv, subsection B.

B. JULIA AUGUSTA AS PRIESTESS

There is greater novelty in this subject. This comprises the well-known type of Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre. This occurs, in almost identical form, at no less than seven of our cities, namely Paestum, Carthage(?), Hippo Diarrhytus, Dium, Corinth, Cnossus(?) and Pisidian Antioch (nos. 4, 15, 18, 35, 46, 49 and 52: Plate I, 5, II, 1, 4, IV, 5, V, 9, 11, 15)—as well as at *municipia* Italica and Utica (Plate VIII, 8, 9), and *coloniae* Caesar-augusta (Plate VI, 2) and Emerita (Plate VI, 9).¹⁷¹ This much favoured type is directly imitated from a vast series of official *asses* with DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER (Plate VIII, 13),¹⁷² or from an identical representation on further *asses* of Tiberius dated to A.D. 15-16 (Plate VIII, 12).¹⁷³ These two series constitute practically the whole of the important category¹⁷⁴ of his "accession" *aes*.¹⁷⁵

Doubts that the figure on this large range of coinage was intended to represent Livia¹⁷⁶ are removed by the accompanying legends IVL· AVG· at Hippo Diarrhytus (Plate II, 4), and the same two names written in full as IVLIA AVGVSTA at Emerita, Caesar-augusta and Italica. Indeed a further issue that even appears to be official (of Cyprus[?]) (Plate VIII, 11)¹⁷⁷ represents the same figure with the same inscription. It may therefore be confidently assumed that the identical figure on the central official *asses* of Tiberius and Divus Augustus, as well as at all these eleven Roman

¹⁷¹ Thus there is one in each of the three Spanish provinces.

¹⁷² *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 141, no. 151, Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, pp. 102 ff., *ibid.*, Plate I, 1-10.

¹⁷³ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 128, no. 65.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection B.

¹⁷⁵ The only exception is a particularly rare *as* with wreath and chair, which was probably commemorative, and never current coin (cf. *RAI*, Chapter III, section iii, and for the theme Diez, *JAIW*, 1946, p. 107).

¹⁷⁶ E.g. Hill, *NC*, 1914, p. 303 ("*Gens Iulia*"—on the idea, see above, section i), cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, pp. 115, 125, who compares with representations of divinities.

¹⁷⁷ Hill, *NC*, 1914, pp. 299 ff., no. 12a (attributed to Antioch in Pisidia), Imhoof-Blumer, *KM*, p. 30, no. 1 (to Parium). It is just possible that an ethnic is missing from the exergue.

cities, likewise represents Livia. It is true that a seated figure on contemporary *aurei* and *denarii* (which, however, carries different emblems and was inaugurated under Augustus rather than Tiberius¹⁷⁸) perhaps represented, in the first instance at least, not Livia, but the composite divinity *Iustitia-Pax*.¹⁷⁹ But that type is rarely if ever imitated by the Roman cities, and is never labelled IVLIA AVGVSTA like the figure on the *aes*. The latter seems to represent Livia neither as a goddess nor as a "Virtue" but as a priestess,¹⁸⁰ veiled and with characteristic *patera*.¹⁸¹ It was easier for the official mints, which concentrated to so great an extent on this type, to represent Livia as a priestess than as a deity or even a "Virtue," matters in which imperial policy had certain reservations. A Vienna sardonix, probably of post-Augustan date, seems to show Livia in the same rôle of priestess;¹⁸² so perhaps does a statue from Pompeii with the same *terminus post quem*,¹⁸³ and a bust in the Uffizi gallery.¹⁸⁴

The belief that it is as priestess that Livia figures in these representations, as on coins, is confirmed by historical considerations. On the death of Augustus, Livia became priestess of the new *divus*; and Gagé¹⁸⁵ is right in pointing out that—in close accordance with the Augustan emphasis on priesthoods—it was this office which formed the occasion of her chief honours at Rome.¹⁸⁶ Ovid writes

¹⁷⁸ *BMC. Imp.*, p. 91, no. 544. Mattingly's distinction of the Augustan and Tiberian types is, in the present writer's opinion, unjustifiable. Another late Augustan seated female figure (on an *aes* piece of M. Granius Marcellus in Bithynia) is described in *FITA*, p. 145, as Livia; but, whether this is true or not, she does not provide a precedent for the priestess type since she carries a *cornucopiae*; nor does she appear to be veiled.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. above, Chapter II, section iv, subsection A.

¹⁸⁰ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cxxxiii and n. 4, cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, p. 16, Kornemann, *GFA*, p. 208.

¹⁸¹ For this as the priestly emblem cf. Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cciv, n. 2.

¹⁸² Cf. Aschbach, *Livia Gemahlin des Kaisers Augustus*, Plate III, 2, Ollendorff, *RE*, XIII, 1, 924.

¹⁸³ Maiuri, *Villa dei Misteri*, pp. 223 ff., cf. Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 168. Cf. the Uffizi altar under Augustus, *ibid.*, p. 136 (A.D. 2).

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Beurlier, *Essai sur le Culte rendu aux Empereurs romains*, p. 29, n. 3.

¹⁸⁵ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, p. 166.

¹⁸⁶ She held other priesthoods also; cf. Waldhauer, *JRS*, 1923, p. 190, on a bust apparently showing her as priestess of Ceres (for whom see last subsection).

coniunxque sacerdos,¹⁸⁷ and Velleius *Livia . . . quam transgressi ad deos sacerdotem ac filiam (vidimus)*.¹⁸⁸ The evidence of Velleius is particularly significant here since, while not apparently a member of Livia's most intimate circle, he is just the man whom we should expect to reflect the official publicity of Tiberius.¹⁸⁹ This publicity directed much of its attention, not to the suppression of Livia's glory—far from it—but to her presentation as priestess, rather than as goddess or empress.

Certain implications of this rôle have been described in recent years. As the coinage of Pella (no. 38: Plate IV, 10; and especially no. 39) and its Roman prototype suggest,¹⁹⁰ the priestess may well be regarded in some sense as the representative (though not, since she is labelled IVLIA AVGVSTA, as the equivalent) of *Pietas*.¹⁹¹ The composite character of this Augustan and Tiberian "Virtue" has been analysed by the present writer elsewhere.¹⁹² In this connection we must not boggle at the conception—unfamiliar to us—revealed by Velleius' description of Livia not only as her deified husband's *sacerdos* but also as his *filia*. The former wife of the *divus* had been adopted in his will,¹⁹³ and she was now correctly described as his "daughter."¹⁹⁴ Another result of this measure was her assumption of the gentile name "Julia," and *cognomen* "Augusta," to which our coins bear witness. Her adoption of the former name may not have been particularly strange,¹⁹⁵ but the latter appellation rep-

¹⁸⁷ *Ex Ponto*, IV, 9, 107, cf. Weber, pp. 92 f.*, n. 427.

¹⁸⁸ II, 75, 3.

¹⁸⁹ See Abraham, *Velleius und die Parteien in Rom unter Tiberius*, pp. 13 f., cf. Smith, p. 126, n. 39. As Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 188, puts it, "Velleius knew all the tricks."

¹⁹⁰ Cf. also *Caesaraugusta*, Vives, IV, p. 80, no. 37.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 141, no. 151 ("as priestess or as *Pietas*"); but he prefers the former alternative on pp. cxxxiii and 128. The *PIETAS* head is veiled like the head of the priestess; and the priestess—"daughter" was an obvious reminiscence of *Pietas*.

¹⁹² *RAI*, Chapter III, section i.

¹⁹³ For discussion see especially Kornemann, *DR*, p. 35, *GFA*, *SB München*, 1947, I, p. 5.

¹⁹⁴ This point has rarely been faced except by Gag , *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 26, n. 1, *ibid.*, XXXIV, 1931, p. 16, and von Premerstein, p. 269.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Ehrenberg, p. 205.

resented a somewhat startling adaptation of the Augustan name or title. Kornemann¹⁹⁶ (probably, in this statement, at least, without the exaggeration which Ehrenberg attributes to him¹⁹⁷) describes it as having been as surprising to the world in general as it was tiresome for Tiberius; though others have taken the view that, whatever its embarrassing effects, it had been intended by Augustus to help Tiberius¹⁹⁸ rather than to hinder him.¹⁹⁹

The present study will not touch further on the psychological relations of the three great personages, which raise questions that are fascinating but may be insoluble. The coins are concerned rather with the *façade* with which imperial publicity presented, or covered up, those relations. This publicity made great play with the theme of Livia as priestess. But, as Weber has pointed out, this theme contained scarcely less novelty than the other manifestations of Livia's posthumous adoption to which reference has been made.²⁰⁰ Usually only goddesses, not gods, had been tended by priestesses; gods had been looked after by male priests.²⁰¹ Livia's priesthood, then, could not fail, in this respect at least, to be almost unprecedented.²⁰²

But so, too, was the problem with which her survival, and her place in the testament of Augustus, faced the government of Tiberius. Many attempts have been made in modern times to define the special position of the *Augusta* in the state. This position of hers faced Tiberius with a problem which lacked a complete precedent and thus permitted of no orthodox solution. But those of our coins which are here interpreted as emphasising the "priestess" formula

¹⁹⁶ *DR*, pp. 35 f., 50, n. 3, 189, cf. *GFA*, pp. 199, 204. Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 40.

¹⁹⁷ P. 205.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Ollendorff, *RE*, XIII, 1, 916, Gag  , *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, p. 17.

¹⁹⁹ Ehrenberg, p. 206, does not rule out the possibility that Augustus intended to damage Tiberius.

²⁰⁰ Pp. 92* f., n. 427.

²⁰¹ Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*², pp. 185, 218, n. 6, 299, n. 10.

²⁰² Possibly the *flaminica Dialis* was a partial exception and precedent: as Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 135, 143.

indicate the principles on which his attempted solution was founded; and these principles must now briefly be discussed. A student of Tiberius' rule would be surprised if he found his administration, even in so unusual a situation, acting without attention to some Roman precedent or part-precedent, drawn either from the Republic or from the policy of Augustus, or from both. He is not *prima facie* likely to have introduced Hellenistic innovations in such a matter, and indeed Hellenistic cults, to which certain scholars have attributed other features of Livia's position,²⁰³ do not appreciably help us to understand her priesthood. It can be shown that this was not quite so "un-Roman" as Weber says,²⁰⁴ and that, whatever features of novelty it contained, its presentation to the Roman public, through the coins, gave due consideration to Roman institutions.



Fig. i



Fig. ii



Fig. iii

The connection of the coins, and of the "priestess" formula in general, with Roman traditions seems to be provided by certain other seated figures of veiled women which had appeared on coinage of an earlier date. We may particularly compare the pose of a veiled seated figure (carrying a *cymbium*) on the *denarii* of C. Clodius Vestalis issued in the late forties B.C. (Figure iii).²⁰⁵ An-

²⁰³ E.g. Kornemann, *GFA*, pp. 219, 221, 230.

²⁰⁴ Pp. 92* f., n. 427.

²⁰⁵ *BMC. Rep.*, I, p. 564, no. 4195; cf. *FITA*, pp. 49 f., n. 14 (and Errata); but the present writer no longer agrees with Groag, *RE*, IV, 104 f., in eliminating these pieces from the Roman Series of the late 40's. For Vestalis see Barbieri, *Rivista di Filologia*, 1947, pp. 166 f.

other veiled lady, standing, and holding—together with a *simpulum*—a sceptre as on our Tiberian *aes*, was depicted at about the same date by M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Livineius Regulus (Figure ii).²⁰⁶ An earlier M. Lepidus had shown a veiled head of the same lady in pre-Caesarian days (Figure i).²⁰⁷ Now the figures represented by these three types are none of them goddesses or “Virtues,” but all human beings. Moreover they all share another and more distinctive feature, namely that of being Vestal Virgins. It is the Vestal Aemilia who is represented by both of the Marci Lepidi, and C. Clodius Vestalis—whose *cognomen* is significant in this context—is depicting the Vestal Claudia Quinta. The seated figures on the *denarii* of the Lepidi and Regulus and Vestalis are by no means unlike the “Livia as priestess” type, and hold priestly emblems as she does. Moreover, a conscious reminiscence is suggested by Livia’s kinship, as a Claudian by birth as well as by marriage,²⁰⁸ to one of these Vestals, Claudia Quinta—who is known to have been honoured by a Claudian emperor.²⁰⁹

Livia’s career provides a special *raison d’être* for such a connection. She was given *sacrosanctitas* early in her husband’s rule (B.C. 35),²¹⁰ during which she already appeared in a veil like that worn by the Vestal Virgins.²¹¹ Long before the death of Augustus her position could be compared with that of the Vestals in a number of ways.²¹² It was only as the formalisation and finalisation of a long process that in A.D. 24—perhaps in connection with the decennialian ceremonies²¹³—she was given the right to sit in their midst.²¹⁴ In

²⁰⁶ *BMC. Rep.*, I, p. 580, no. 4259 (c. 39 B.C.); Bahrfeldt, *Die römische Goldmünzenprägung*, pp. 55, 58 f. (43-42 B.C.).

²⁰⁷ *BMC. Rep.*, I, p. 450, no. 3650.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 229. Her father was a Claudius adopted in infancy by the tribune Livius Drusus—M. Livius Drusus Claudianus.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 499—Claudius.

²¹⁰ Cf. Adcock, *CAH*, IX, p. 901, Hohl, *Klio*, 1939, p. 70, *FITA*, p. 450.

²¹¹ E.g. on the Uffizi Altar, Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 136.

²¹² Cf. Weber, pp. 92* f., n. 427; Hor., *Od.*, III, 14, 5 f.

²¹³ For these see *RAI*, Chapter III, section i.

²¹⁴ Cf. Weber, loc. cit., Rogers, p. 32, Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 479.

such circumstances identification with the guardian deity of the Vestals was easy:²¹⁵ we find the combination *Vesta Augusta*,²¹⁶ and a description of Livia as Vesta by Ovid;²¹⁷ and on common *asses* of Caligula, a seated figure very similar to those on the Tiberian *aes*, and like them provided with a veil and long sceptre, is actually described as VESTA.²¹⁸

Thus the widespread type of Livia as priestess was neither a pure invention nor an adaptation from the Hellenistic world: it was firmly based on the Roman Vestal tradition. This descent had obvious and impressive implications. The patroness of the type, Vesta, represents, in the words of Warde Fowler, "the reality and continuity of Roman religious feeling."²¹⁹ The Vestal Virgins, to whom Livia is compared, embodied the highest ideals of the Roman concept of womanhood.²²⁰ The founders of the principate appreciated the significance of the Vestal tradition, and, as in the case of so many historic institutions, took careful steps to annex it for themselves. Of Julius Caesar, the adoptive father of Livia's husband, Ovid inspires Vesta to say *Ne dubita meminisse: meus fuit ille sacerdos*.²²¹ Both Vesta and her Virgins were deliberately exalted by Augustus.²²² As so often, Tiberius did the same:²²³ this range of ideas lost nothing of its impetus during the decades following the death of Augustus. While Augustus was alive, Livia's Vestal rôle had linked her closely with him in his capacity of *pontifex maximus*, and after his death, when she herself had obtained a great and special priesthood, a similar link united her with the new *pontifex maximus*, her son—now her "brother"—Tiberius: for the Vestal Virgins were tra-

²¹⁵ For such identifications of Livia with goddesses see last subsection.

²¹⁶ *CIL*, II, 1166, 3378, cf. Charlesworth, *JRS*, 1943, p. 7, n. 37.

²¹⁷ *Ex Ponto*, IV, 13, 29. Her house was associated with the cult of Vesta, Richmond, *JRS*, 1914, pp. 209, 211.

²¹⁸ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 154, no. 45, p. cxlvi.

²¹⁹ *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 137.

²²⁰ Cf. Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion*, p. 88.

²²¹ *Fasti*, III, 699, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 151 (but cf. p. 173 and n. 3).

²²² Cf. Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 479.

²²³ Cf. Rogers, pp. 11 f. For the Vestal connection of the Tiberian *Aeternitas*, see above, Chapter II, section iv, subsection B.

ditionally the direct subordinates of the high priest.²²⁴ Later in the century Vitellius, reproducing on his coinage a seated figure very like that of the Tiberian coinage, was to label it PONT· MAXIM·,²²⁵ thus stressing further the connection between Vesta and the high-priesthood.

The cult of Vesta was also closely associated with that of Divus Augustus, with whose portrait the seated priestess is so often associated.²²⁶ Indeed, for centuries after the death of Augustus, the temple of Vesta was regularly accorded numismatic portrayal on the principal anniversaries of the death of Augustus—and on practically no other occasions but these anniversaries.²²⁷ Livia, who sat among the Vestals and was priestess of Augustus, was the link and unifier of these two great branches of Roman religion, Vesta and Divus Augustus—thus maintaining the sacerdotal tradition of her family by adoption, the *Gens Iulia*. It is in these capacities that she appears on the numerous issues with the “seated priestess” type, which first dominated the official “accession” issues of Tiberius and then remained the most persistent and widespread feature of the local *aes* coinage of his principate.

A notable feature of this type is that it was considered as appropriate for the years after Livia’s death (A.D. 29) as for the years before it. In the first place, its appearance at Utica with the names of at least nine *duoviri* or *quinquennales*,²²⁸ apparently between the years 27 and 30 inclusive,²²⁹ suggests that a number of these coins should be attributed to 30, the year after her death. Secondly, for pressing reasons of portraiture and execution,²³⁰ some of the Divus

²²⁴ Stuart Jones, *CAH*, X, p. 426, Mommsen, *St. R.*, II³, p. 54; cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. cxxxi, ccxiv, Rogers, p. 32, Charlesworth, *HTR*, 1936, p. 123.

²²⁵ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 373, no. 33.

²²⁶ Charlesworth, *HTR*, 1936, p. 123, Sutherland, *NC*, 1941, p. 116 n. *Ibid.*, p. 114, for this significance of the star and thunderbolt on the obverse of the Divus Augustus Pater “seated priestess” coins, cf. our no. 14 of Achulla (Plate I, 21).

²²⁷ *RAI*, Chapter VI, section ii (init.), etc.

²²⁸ See Appendix 2; Plate VIII, 8 and 9.

²²⁹ De Laet, p. 92, no. 410 and p. 246.

²³⁰ The present writer hopes to publish elsewhere a note defending the validity of such criteria.

Augustus Pater *asses* with the same type²³¹ must be ascribed to the period following the death not only of Livia but of Tiberius as well—notably to the principate of Caligula or Claudius.²³² Her deification did not occur until the latter of these two reigns;²³³ under Tiberius she was not deified,²³⁴ and he took care, as usual, that her posthumous honours should not be exaggerated.²³⁵ We might expect to find the official view in Velleius. Writing very soon after Livia's death, he describes her as *eminentissima et per omnia deis quam hominibus similior femina*.²³⁶ This is high praise, but it is not the description of a *diva*: it harmonises admirably, however, with the characteristics of the "seated priestess" type, which was, as we have seen, retained after her death.

Official *aes* coinage attributable to the same early years after Livia's death conveys a similar suggestion. The present writer²³⁷ has elsewhere supported the view—which Sutherland describes as "now generally admitted"²³⁸—that certain coins of Tiberius were issued after the dates represented by the tribunician numbers that they bear. Among these is an official *sestertius* of Tiberius with a *carpentum* and the words S·P·Q·R· IVLIAE AVGVSTAE.²³⁹ This seems to have been issued shortly after the death of Livia—that is to say at about the time when Velleius wrote. *Carpentum* types on other Roman coins of the first century A.D. are habitually posthumous,²⁴⁰ and suggest that the same is true of this one. We may com-

²³¹ Sutherland, *NC*, 1941, pp. 103 f., n. 13, p. 102, n. 22, *ibid.*, Plate I, 10.

²³² *RAI*, Chapter IV, section i; *ibid.*, Plate II, 9, 10.

²³³ Cf. Weber, p. 101*, Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 498.

²³⁴ Cf. Rogers, *Hermes*, 1933, p. 122, Smith, p. 151, n. 75.

²³⁵ Cf. Rogers, p. 70.

²³⁶ *II*, 80, 5, cf. Balsdon, p. 11, n. 3.

²³⁷ *FITA*, pp. 447 f.

²³⁸ *JRS*, 1947, pp. 211 f. He rightly points to a number of important historical questions raised by this conclusion. Cf. also above, p. 32, n. 123.

²³⁹ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 130, no. 76.

²⁴⁰ E.g. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 159, no. 81 (Agrippina senior), p. 180, n. (Antonia), II, p. 270, no. 226, p. 271, no. 229 (Domitilla), pp. 402 f., 405 f., (Julia Titi). Against these instances, the only non-posthumous example is on a non-Roman and apparently medallic anniversary piece of Agrippina junior, *ibid.*, I, p. 195n., cf. *RAI*, Chapter IV, section ii.

pare also Italian urn-reliefs on which this type of vehicle is used by the dead on their journey from the world.²⁴¹ It is improbable, in view of the *moderatio* of Tiberius in such respects, that Livia was conceded the right of using a *carpentum* in her lifetime, a right which Messalina and Agrippina junior seem to have been the first to possess.²⁴² More likely parallels are those provided by a series of personages beginning with Agrippina senior, for whom, *after* her death, an identical coin-type was issued²⁴³ when Caligula—in this respect conservative in his attitude to imperial women²⁴⁴—granted her the same honour of a *carpentum* posthumously.²⁴⁵

These *carpenta* were closely associated with the priesthood. Antonia's position during the last weeks of her life was modelled on that of Livia,²⁴⁶ so that Claudius later entitles her SACERDOS DIVI AVGVSTI;²⁴⁷ and one posthumous *denarius* in her name shows a *carpentum* with the sole inscription SACERDOS.²⁴⁸ Tacitus describes the award of these vehicles as *honus sacerdotibus et sacris antiquitus concessus*.²⁴⁹ (Furthermore, *carpenta* were more appropriate to priestesses than to priests, for they were especially associated with women.)²⁵⁰ Thus the *carpentum* on the *sestertius* of

²⁴¹ E.g. from Volaterrae in Museo Archeologico, Florence, cf. Brunn-Körte, *Urne Etrusche*, III, p. 96, Plate LXXX, 4c.

²⁴² Dio 60.22, 33, Suet., *Claud.*, 17, Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 42, cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cxxxv, nn. 2, 3, cliv, n. 2, clix; see also last note but one.

²⁴³ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 159, n. 81.

²⁴⁴ Revolutionary aspects of his policy in this respect are stressed e.g. by Kornemann, *Die Stellung der Frau*, in *Die vorgriechische Mittelmeerkultur*, pp. 13 ff. See also Balsdon, pp. 41 ff., Grant, *NC*, 1949 (in press).

²⁴⁵ Suet., *Cal.*, 15, cf. Abaecherli, *Bollettino dell Associazione Internazionale degli Studi Mediterranei*, VI, 1935/6, p. 5.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 655, Gag , *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, p. 21, n. 3, Kornemann, *DR*, pp. 51 f.

²⁴⁷ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 180, no. 112, Weber, p. 92*, n. 427.

²⁴⁸ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 180, n. (Vienna), cf. Kubitschek, *NZ*, 1921, p. 151, Plate VII, 5.

²⁴⁹ *Ann.*, XII, 42.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, s.v., e.g. Festus, p. 245 (M ller), Becker's *Gallus*, p. 346, etc. The first veto on women driving in the city was short-lived (the *lex Oppia*), but even this was *nisi sacrorum publicorum causa veheretur* (Livy, XXXIV, 1). Caesar revived the veto in similar form, Adcock, *CAH*, IX, p. 699. Cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cxxxv, n. 1.

Livia seems to confirm that, after her death as before it, Tiberius intended her position as priestess to be in the forefront of his publicity. This is perhaps borne out by the veil which she wears on an exceedingly rare official coin-portrait that appears to be posthumous.²⁵¹ These corroborate the suggestion conveyed by survivals of the seated priestess type after A.D. 29. Even if Tiberius felt a great deal freer after the death of his mother²⁵²—and his feelings, obscure enough at the time, cannot be reconstructed now—he apparently made no change in the picture of her presented by his publicity.²⁵³ For this was the official rôle in which he preferred her to appear, live or dead—as *sacerdos Divi Augusti* and heiress to the Roman Vestal tradition.

C. POSITION OF JULIA AUGUSTA IN THE STATE

Much has recently been written of the reluctance of Tiberius to overload Livia with honours, whether public or divine.²⁵⁴ Our present material tends to confirm the view that, as far as Romans are concerned, the interpretation of her official position as “Hellenistic” cannot be substantiated: it had a truly Roman background. Indeed, even in dealing with Greeks, Tiberius was cautious about her divinity, as is suggested by the Gythium inscription;²⁵⁵ but *peregrini*, even if such instructions had been less *suspensa et obscura*,²⁵⁶ could scarcely be expected to achieve moderation. Roman colonies, too, were sometimes apt to regard her as a goddess. But more often they imitated Rome, where, in official circles, there was no doubt on this subject: the fact that her late husband had become *divus* did not make her *diva*. Even after her death, as Velleius so tactfully put it, although she was more like a goddess than a human being, she was

²⁵¹ *RAI*, Chapter III, section 3, and *ibid.*, Plate II, 1.

²⁵² Cf. Kornemann, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 1929, p. 343.

²⁵³ Possibly, however, he presented it less assiduously: cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 634.

²⁵⁴ Rogers, pp. 68 ff., etc.

²⁵⁵ For references, see above, subsection A.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, I, 11.

still no more than *eminentissima femina*. Still less, then, could Romans at home have considered her divine in her lifetime, even if Roman colonies abroad had their moments of deviation from the Roman model.

As regards her lifetime, the repeated allusions to Livia by our coin-types illustrate the position which she held in the framework and government of the state. That position was formidable. But, as Ehrenberg²⁵⁷ points out, there is no reason to follow Kornemann's²⁵⁸ exaggeration of a cautious remark of Mommsen,²⁵⁹ and call the Vestal-like *sacerdos Augusti* a "co-ruler" or anything like it: indeed, the Vestals with whom she was equated were the direct subordinates of the *pontifex maximus*.²⁶⁰ But there were other limitations also. The basis of the rule of Augustus had been his *auctoritas*. When he died, his "priestess and daughter," however great and powerful a lady, and however potent her names "Julia Augusta," did not inherit as large a measure of his *auctoritas* as did his "son" and successor in the *statio principis*. For one thing the *auctoritas* of Augustus and then of Tiberius was largely exercised, in the administrative and executive field, through the senate²⁶¹ and *comitia*.²⁶² These were aspects in which Livia had no share at all; and it is not possible, at the date of which we are speaking, to describe as "co-ruler" any person, even if it were a man, whose *auctoritas* was not given an administrative voice in the senate by means of the tribunician power.²⁶³ Much the same applies to Livia's lack of *imperium*. Whatever the exact rôle of that power in the administrative position of the *princeps*,²⁶⁴ it gave him not only military glory but

²⁵⁷ P. 205.

²⁵⁸ *DR*, pp. 35 ff., *GFA*, pp. 199 ff., *SB München*, 1947, I, p. 5; cf. Rostovtzeff, *RH*, 1930, p. 24.

²⁵⁹ *St. R.*, II³, pp. 788 f., n. 4.

²⁶⁰ Cf. last subsection, n. 224.

²⁶¹ Cf. above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C.

²⁶² Cf. *FITA*, pp. 447, 452, n. 4, and *Greece and Rome*, 1949, p. 110.

²⁶³ For the tribunician power as the real basis of "co-rule," cf. Ehrenberg, p. 202 (against Mommsen, *St. R.*, II³, pp. 1152 f.); Grant, *Greece and Rome*, 1949, pp. 111 f.

²⁶⁴ Cf. above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection B.

also military strength. Livia's deficiency in these, as in the *tribunicia potestas*, prevented her from being co-ruler.²⁶⁵ Owing to the inevitability of these deficiencies, Augustus cannot, for all the remarkable stipulations of his will, have intended her to become co-ruler after his death.²⁶⁶ *A fortiori*, since she was not co-ruler, she was not "matriarch,"²⁶⁷ in relation either to her son²⁶⁸ or (for all the unauthorised²⁶⁹ MATER PATRIAE of Lepcis Magna²⁷⁰ [Plate VIII, 6]) to the State.

Nevertheless, while we should be wrong in postulating un-Roman or divine or imperial honours for Livia at Rome, it would be equally wrong to suppose that Tiberius endeavoured to keep her out of sight. The enormous emphasis on her figure as a coin-type tells an entirely different story. Even if Tiberius was inclined to shirk problems, this was one which he did not shirk. Indeed, he proclaimed to the Roman world his official interpretation of her position. Yet this picture of the Augusta, as priestess and Vestal devotee rather than worldly ruler, perhaps seemed a little austere to the more ambitious of her admirers, if not to Livia herself; and, as regards numismatic honours, it even fell short of one or two manifestations of Augustus' lifetime.²⁷¹ The literary tradition records a number of embarrassing attempts by Tiberius to prevent Livia

²⁶⁵ Cf. F. Sandels, *Die Stellung der kaiserlichen Frauen aus dem julisch-claudischen Hause*, Diss: Giessen, 1912, pp. 22 f., 75 ff., Ehrenberg, p. 206.

²⁶⁶ As Kornemann, *GFA*, p. 204.

²⁶⁷ As Piganiol, *Mélanges Cagnat*, p. 153.

²⁶⁸ For references to *mater Augusti*, see Smith, p. 22, n., p. 43. He sometimes allowed her name to precede his on monuments, e.g. *Fasti Praen.*, cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 634.

²⁶⁹ Tiberius refused her the title, Tac., *Ann.*, I, 14, Dio, 57, 12, cf. von Premerstein, pp. 174 f., Rogers, pp. 60, 68; just as he himself refused the title of *pater patriae*, see Chapter II, section i.

²⁷⁰ Müller, I, p. 623, Grose, III, p. 458, no. 10003, cf. Willrich, p. 57, Kornemann, *DR*, p. 37, n. 2. For the cult of the *domus Augusta* at Lepcis Magna, see Aurigemma, *Annali dell'Africa Italiana*, 1941, pp. 585 ff.

²⁷¹ E.g. at Alexandria (Kornemann, *DR*, p. 38, n. 1, Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 36; but there is no question of "right of coinage," as Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 634), and in Bithynia, where the busts of Augustus and Livia appear jugate on an official coinage (M. Granius Marcellus, *FITA*, Plate IV, 33, cf. pp. 145 f.).

from straying outside the borders of this picture.²⁷² These attempts were over-simplified or perverted into imaginary attempts by Tiberius—*moderandos feminarum honores dictitans*²⁷³—to keep Livia “out of the news.” But the coinage confirms that she was very much in the official news: she had a vast share of the imperial publicity. Indeed, in another passage of Tacitus we read of the emperor’s *inveteratum erga matrem obsequium*.²⁷⁴ Both these ungenerous epigrams strike home, and the fact that they are contradictory only underlines the delicate nature of the problem which Tiberius was trying to face.

The place assigned to Livia in the framework of the principate was an exalted one. But it was also, in its chief aspect, restricted to a quasi-Vestal rôle. The retirement of Tiberius to Capri, with its effects on the quality of his administration²⁷⁵ and particularly on the system of *auctoritas principis*,²⁷⁶ may well have been due, in part at least, to difficult relations with Livia, which the official interpretation of her did nothing to mitigate. It cannot have been easy for that very real personality²⁷⁷ to fit into the coldly elevated niche in the imperial façade which Tiberius had designed for her. Tiberius tried to base his policy and publicity on the practice of Augustus, and particularly on that of the last *decennium* of the latter’s principate. But just as he was to some extent defeated in that aim by the posthumous greatness of his own model, so too he was defeated—though this again was never admitted—by the personality of Livia and, more particularly, by the position left to her by Au-

²⁷² Cf. Rogers, pp. 69 f., Ciaceri, *Tacito*, p. 158. An instance particularly annoying to Tiberius (if true) must have been her initiative in directing the fire-brigade to put out a fire—next to the temple of Vesta (Suet., *Tib.*, 50)! Her supporters could, however, argue that even Vestal Virgins had at times performed public services outside the cloister, e.g. Aemilia and her kinswoman Claudia Quinta (see above, subsection B).

²⁷³ Tac., *Ann.*, I, 14, cf. Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 40.

²⁷⁴ *Ann.*, V, 3, cf. Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 59.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Thiel, *Mnemosyne*, 1935/6, p. 211, n. 5, Smith, p. 163, Hammond, p. 169. But these effects must not be overestimated, Kornemann, *RG*, II, p. 197.

²⁷⁶ Cf. below, Conclusion.

²⁷⁷ For her character see Kornemann, *GFA*, pp. 172 ff. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 634, describes the aspersions of Tacitus as a “farrago of nonsense.”

gustus in his will. The present discussion has suggested the means employed by Tiberius to rescue this situation, by the application of his own standards—namely those of Roman traditionalism, which had likewise been the standards of the stepfather who had left him this uncomfortable heritage. Even at this distance of time, these methods appear as only partially successful; for behind the façade of *mos maiorum* they reveal what Tiberius most wished to avoid but in these peculiar circumstances could not conceal—namely an element of novelty.

CONCLUSION

THE rule of Tiberius possesses many features which warrant its description as an aftermath of the principate of Augustus rather than a prelude to the principates which follow. Thus, in our present study, we have found in a number of fields that changes often attributed to Tiberius prove, on examination, to be features of the preceding principate (often of its final period), which Tiberius maintained as he found them.¹ The whole subjects of his colonial coinages² and attitude to Roman cities³ seem to fall into this category; indeed, in respect of his own titulature (in which he was eager to avoid comparisons),⁴ and in the honouring of his heirs,⁵ he was more conservative than Augustus and may even perhaps be said to have introduced a Republican reaction.⁶

Moreover, in many respects the contrast with the future is no less clear than the link with the past; and Tiberius has been regarded not only as the second, but also as the last, of the true *principes*.⁷ For immediately after him came the first of the imperial tyrants, Caligula, in whose brief reign—though the force of continuity and tradition must not be minimised⁸—the Augustan system received a severe, and at some points a fatal, shock; as was fitting under the first of three emperors descended from M. Antonius.⁹ In particular Caligula had little patience for the tactful exercise of government

¹ Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, II, 65: *nihil aeque Tiberium anxium habebat quam ne composita turbarentur*; and Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 38, Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 625.

² Chapter I, section ii, and Appendices 4, 6, 7.

³ Chapter II, section ii, and Appendices 2, 5.

⁴ Chapter II, section i.

⁵ Chapter III, section ii.

⁶ For references see Chapter II, section i.

⁷ Cf. Kornemann, *GR*, p. 159, *RG*, II, p. 204.

⁸ It is illustrated by his coinage, cf. Mattingly, *CAH*, XII, p. 716; e.g. his conservative titulature, and coinage for Agrippina senior, see above, Chapter III, section iv, subsection C.

⁹ Syme, *RR*, p. 495; cf. Kornemann, *GFA*, p. 221.

by *auctoritas*.¹⁰ This régime died with Tiberius.¹¹ His was the last principate in which other *auctoritates* survived alongside the *auctoritas principis*,¹² and other *principes viri* alongside the *princeps*;¹³ in which, indeed, the latter liked to seem *ut senator et iudex, non ut princeps*.¹⁴ The significance of the year of his death, A.D. 37, may have been partly clear to those who came after him; at any rate, until the period of detraction set in,¹⁵ and his critics began to be read in earnest soon after the fall of his admirer Domitian,¹⁶ his memory received from posterity the marked respect¹⁷ which it deserved, and which is said to have been his highest ambition.¹⁸ Thus the *tricennium* of his death was commemorated by Nero on an official Alexandrian issue,¹⁹ and possibly, too, its half-centenary by a Roman *as* of Domitian.²⁰ The death of Tiberius represented the end

¹⁰ Cf. Kornemann, *RG*, II, p. 209. Levi, *La Politica Imperiale di Roma*, p. 269, argues that Caligula tried to restore "the *auctoritas principis* that had been cheapened by Tiberius"; but he is using the word in the general sense of "authority," and his meaning is that Caligula wanted to avoid the "Republican menace" which, according to Levi, Tiberius had allowed to develop.

¹¹ Cf. Kornemann, *RG*, II, p. 204, *GR*, p. 159. "Restorations of the Republic" by emperors on whom powers were conferred by a "*lex de imperio*," like Vespasian, did not set the clock back to the days of Tiberius.

¹² Cf. Muller, *MKA*, 63, XI, 1927, pp. 29 ff., Wagenvoort, *QAS*, X, 1938, p. 14. He even considered himself in *auctoritate senatus*, cf. Heinze, *Vom Geist des Römer-tums*, Wells, *JRS*, 1939, p. 105.

¹³ Cf. Gwosdz, *Der Begriff des römischen Princeps*, Diss: Breslau, 1933, p. 3.

¹⁴ Vell., II, 129, 2, cf. Kornemann, *Staaten Völker Männer*, p. 95, n. 45, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, V, 1929, pp. 342 f.

¹⁵ Cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 652.

¹⁶ Cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, XI, p. 23, Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, pp. 11 ff., p. 20, n. 1.

¹⁷ Tiberian allusions on the coinage of the first century are commented on in *RAI*, Chapters IV-VI (Chapter III, section iii, for the attitude of Caligula). Cf. also Dio, 60, 10, *ILS*, 212; posthumous statues and busts, *Africa Italiana*, 1940-1941, pp. 76 f., 91, Abb. 76, 77, Schweitzer, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1942, p. 105, Merlin, *RA*, 1941, p. 330, no. 105, cf. Poulsen, *Acta Archaeologica*, 1946, p. 9 and n. 32, p. 47, 105—sometimes in temples, *BMC, Ionia*, p. 288, no. 403 (Caracalla); cf. his cult in Lycia, Fougères, *De Lyciorum Communi*, p. 105; and the names of months, Beurlier, *Essai sur le Culte Rendu aux Empereurs Romains*, p. 160.

¹⁸ Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 46: *quippe illi non perinde curae gratia praesentium quam in posteris ambitio*, cf. Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 39, n. 7.

¹⁹ Milne, *Catalogue of the Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*, pp. xxv, xxxv, 7, as interpreted by *RAI*, Chapter IV, section ii.

²⁰ *BMC. Imp.*, II, p. 387, no. 698, cf. p. xciv, as interpreted by *RAI*, Chapter V, section ii.

of an epoch, and it was fitting that a great landmark of the Augustan *aureum saeculum*, namely its half-centenary, was still receiving numismatic commemoration when he died.²¹

Yet, for all these deliberate and far-reaching links with Augustus as with the Republic which had preceded him, it is the feature of the principate of Tiberius that, in another and no less potent sense, it prepared the way for a future which he would have found most distasteful. The very fact of his accession pointed ahead rather than backwards: for it was the first occasion on which a man had succeeded to the *statio principis*, and this was so decisive an event that it has been described by Syme as "marking the legal termination of the Republic."²² Thus, if in one sense A.D. 37 marked the end of an era, it is equally true to say that, despite the wishes of the new *princeps*, A.D. 14 marked the beginning of one.²³ It is not, therefore, fortuitous or surprising that this great year was one of the dates of which the anniversaries were celebrated longest and most attentively in ancient times.²⁴ To judge by the coinage, other such dates were B.C. 43, 31-30, 27, 23, 17-16 and 12.²⁵ Each of these years was commemorated as having in some degree witnessed the inauguration of the principate; but the same is true in a very special sense of A.D. 14.²⁶

Indeed, this year was remarkable for more than the accession of Tiberius. For in it also, from causes beyond his control, there came

²¹ The types (*BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 134 ff.) continued unchanged for the remaining three years of Tiberius' lifetime which followed the anniversary year, and one type even seems to have been retained for a short time after his death (*RAI*, Chapter III, section ii), which was also overlapped by the celebrations of the centenary of Augustus' birth (*RAI*, Chapter III, section iii).

²² *RR*, p. 374, cf. Hohl, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1936, p. 137.

²³ Kornemann, *GFA*, p. 221, stresses the division between the Augustan régime and the government by Claudians (and soon "Antonians") that followed. Tiberius, like Livia, was Claudian on both sides, cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 493.

²⁴ *RAI*, Chapter VIII, section i (summary).

²⁵ *Ibid.* The Eastern provinces added 20 B.C., and the Western provinces 14-13 B.C. (in addition to the annexation dates of individual provinces, such as 25 B.C. for Galatia).

²⁶ Kornemann, *DR*, p. 41, also draws special attention to A.D. 19 as a decisive date—the year in which a *princeps* first raised his own son to the heirship of the empire, cf. above, Chapter III, section ii.

into being two other great features of subsequent Roman history. For the first time a *princeps*, in the new sense, was deified;²⁷ and for the first time, by his testament, a woman was raised high above other women.²⁸ Thus, a dead man still dominated the State; while his widow and priestess hampered it and, despite the official concentration on her religious aspect, set the precedent for a monstrous regiment of women. DEO AVGVSTO and GENETRIX ORBIS, on the coinage of Spanish colonies,²⁹ show respectively the repercussions, ominous for the future, of the embarrassing greatness of Tiberius' predecessor and his no less embarrassing will. By these factors, at the very outset of the reign and through no fault of his own, two serious limitations were set to the *auctoritas* of the new *princeps*. Moreover, he himself, for all his outstanding experience and ability,³⁰ was ill-equipped by nature to govern by *auctoritas* as had Augustus before him. For that system depended greatly on personal relations, and it was in the personal touch³¹—and so in judgment of men³²—that Tiberius was lacking. Indeed, his retirement to Capri, ascribed by Suetonius to a desire to cherish his *auctoritas*,³³ made its tactful exercise impossible.³⁴ So Tiberius himself, cramped by his character as well as by his inheritance,

²⁷ Chapter III, section iii.

²⁸ Chapter III, section iv, especially subsection C.

²⁹ Chapter II, section v; Plate VI, 8, and VII, 6.

³⁰ This is the view of Kornemann, *RG*, II, pp. 196, 200; but, since comparisons between great men are a barren pursuit, no comment is offered here on his assertion of Tiberius' superiority over Augustus. By way of contrast, Charlesworth (*CAH*, X, p. 652), though appreciative of many of Tiberius' qualities, does not agree with Kornemann (op. cit., p. 204, *GR*, p. 158; but see also *GFA*, p. 236) that he was a better *princeps* than Claudius. Opinions of every kind have been expressed about the merits and demerits of Tiberius; one of the least favourable modern estimates is that of Siber, *Abh. Leipzig*, 2, 1940, p. 82.

³¹ Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 652: "he lacked the graciousness in dealing with men and the tact that Augustus had possessed in so supreme a degree"; cf., on the *diritas* of Tiberius, Scott, *AJP*, 1932, pp. 150 ff., Pippidi, *RCI*, 1941/2 = *AT*, p. 173, Kornemann, *RG*, II, pp. 188 f.

³² Cf. Kornemann, *RG*, II, pp. 193 ff., 196 ff.

³³ Suet., *Tib.*, 10, cf. Thiel, *Mnemosyne*, 1935, p. 211, n. 5.

³⁴ Cf. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 471, Scramuzza, *EC*, p. 84. For the effect of this on the administration, and a possible cause, see above, Chapter III, section iv, subsection C.

contributed to the failure of the system which it was his greatest desire to maintain.

The alternative to government by advice was the formal autocracy which was so soon to come into existence. Of this Tiberius was scrupulous to avoid any of the symbolism. But none the less, from the periphery of the empire, many signs of the future were apparent. The greatest of all the achievements of Tiberius, the stabilisation of the imperial Peace, brought on to a colonial mintage a *Pax Aug. Perpetua* which has in it—like GENETRIX ORBIS and DEO AVGVSTO—little of the past and much of the future; it is strangely suggestive of the contemporary Mission of Christ.³⁵ To the future too point the Tiberian coin-legends of other colonies, like PIETAS AVGVSTA, AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE and PROVIDENTIAE AVGVSTI;³⁶ and GENT· IVLI· at Corinth reminds us that the *Gens Iulia*, a modest enough conception in itself, advanced in this principate towards the status of an imperial family already unofficially called the *divina domus*.³⁷ The conservatism of Tiberius kept such phrases away from public parlance, but for a time only; they were advancing apace outside Rome. It is to his involuntary coincidence with such pregnant developments, no less than to his conscious and constructive stabilisation of the *Pax Augusta*, that his principate owes its place—which has begun to be attributed to it in recent years—as a decisive stage in the history of the Roman Empire.

³⁵ Chapter II, section iv, subsection A.

³⁶ Chapter II, section v; Plate VII, 2, 4, 8.

³⁷ Chapter III, section i; Plate V, 4, 7.

APPENDIX 1

Some non-Spanish colonial coins of uncertain *princeps*

IN this Appendix will be collected certain colonial coins which might belong to the principate of Tiberius but are on the whole more probably attributable to other periods.¹

(1) Nemausus. Many of the *aes* pieces with heads of Augustus and Agrippa, and reverses with COL· NEM· and crocodile, are apparently post-Augustan.² One such group, described on iconographical grounds as belonging to "Tiberius or probably later,"³ seems likely to be Claudian. In any case it is doubtful whether the issues of Nemausus are official or colonial,⁴ and also whether the Augustan colony at Nemausus was a Roman or a Latin one⁵—probably it was the former (14 B.C.).

(2) Paestum. Muensterberg ascribes to Tiberius the coinage of the Paestan *duoviri* L. Suei. & M. Nun., and M. I. Ne.;⁶ but attribution to Augustus seems preferable.⁷

(3) Uncertain Spanish city. Nicodemi⁸ attributes to Tiberius a coin signed by C. Aquinus Mela and P. Baebius Pollio *duoviri quinquennales*, but the present writer ascribes it to Augustus. However, the attribution

¹ A list of the pieces attributed to Tiberius is given in Chapter I, section i.

² *FITA*, pp. 75 ff.; accepted by le Gentilhomme, *RN*, 1947, p. vii, and viewed with cautious favour by Mattingly, *NC*, 1946, p. 132, Sutherland, *CR*, 1947, p. 115; cf. de Laet, *AC*, 1946, p. 372.

³ *FITA*, p. 75, n. 11. One of these pieces is illustrated by Willers, *NZ*, 1902, Plate VII, 9.

⁴ *FITA*, pp. 70 ff., describes them as purely official, whereas Mattingly, *NC*, 1946, p. 131, doubts if this can be formally true, while admitting their *de facto* official scope. The present writer is now disposed to regard the first issue of c. 28 B.C. as local, the main Augustan and Neronian issues as official (P. P. on the latter is interpreted as *Pecunia Publica* in *FITA*, p. 78, n. 11, but this is doubted by Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 132); and at least some of the scarcer intervening pieces of Claudius and particularly Caligula, perhaps also the last emissions of A.D. c. 68-69, as medallic or semi-medallic. See also the present writer in *NC*, 1948, pp. 121 ff.

⁵ *FITA*, p. 72, n. 18, gives some references. For comprehensive material concerning imperial Nemausus, *Forma Orbis Romani*, VIII (1941), cf. Grenier, *RH*, 1944, p. 155 f.

⁶ *NZ*, 1911, p. 81.

⁷ Cf. *FITA*, pp. 284 ff.

⁸ P. 74, no. 726.

to Pella must be abandoned owing to Spanish provenance: but A. Beltrán's reversion to Carthago Nova is still not convincing.⁹

(4) Buthrotum. Sestini's¹⁰ attribution to this principate is uncertain. Imhoof-Blumer's¹¹ and Muensterberg's¹² ascription to Buthrotum concerns a genuinely Tiberian coin, but it is here assigned rather to Cnosus(?) (no. 49; Plate V, 10 and 11).

(5) Patrae. A frequently published coin or medallion at Patrae with a veiled head of Livia(?) and *biga*, with the legend INDVLGENTIAE AVG. MONETA IMPETRATA,¹³ is probably not Tiberian.¹⁴ It is certainly not of Augustus,¹⁵ but its reverse type seems to be taken from *dupondii* of Germanicus issued in the principate of Caligula.¹⁶

(6) Corinth. Edwards¹⁷ rightly attributes to Caligula the *duoviri* A. Vatronius Labeo and L. Rutilius Plancus, ascribed earlier to Tiberius¹⁸ or Augustus.¹⁹ She also abandons the attribution to Tiberius of the Augustans Insteius and L. Cassius.²⁰ But certain other coins of Corinth lacking imperial heads²¹ may conceivably belong to the principate of Tiberius. So also might a small piece with GER. and DRV., and two heads,²² though it may also be post-Tiberian and might in any case be official rather than colonial.

(7) Parium. Mionnet quotes as bearing the ethnic of *colonia* Parium (C.G.I.P.) two small pieces with the usual type of priest or colonist ploughing; one has the head and name of Drusus junior,²³ and the other those of Tiberius and Drusus junior²⁴ (Plate VIII, 10). But it is doubtful

⁹ *Las Monedas Latinas de Cartagena* (1949), p. 27, *FITA*, p. 283.

¹⁰ *Descrizione d'alcune Med. Greche del Mus. Hedervariano, Europa*, II, p. 24, no. 4.

¹¹ *MG*, p. 140.

¹² *NZ*, 1911, p. 110.

¹³ Paris, Naples, Vienna (Pink describes the last as tooled but apparently genuine).

¹⁴ As *FITA*, p. 295, n. 9, following Gaebler, p. 61, n.

¹⁵ As Gabrici, *Corolla Numismatica*, 1911, p. 102.

¹⁶ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 160, nos. 94 ff. Cf. Grant, *NC*, 1948, p. 116.

¹⁷ *Corinth*, VI, p. 20.

¹⁸ By Earle Fox, *JIAN*, II, 1899, p. 96; Nicodemi, p. 74.

¹⁹ *BMC, Corinth*, etc.

²⁰ *Corinth*, VI, p. 6, no. 3, cf. *FITA*, p. 266.

²¹ Edwards, op. cit., pp. 7, 24 ff.; *BMC*, 680 f., etc.

²² Edwards, op. cit., p. 74, no. 471.

²³ Mionnet, *Supplément*, V, p. 397, no. 719.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 413, no. 818.

whether Mionnet was right in saying that the ethnic occurs on these coins.²⁵ They appear to be of an anniversary character.²⁶

(8) Berytus. The present writer has yet to see a Berytan issue which does not seem more probably attributable either to a later date (e.g. Plate VIII, 5)²⁷ or to an earlier one.²⁸ But the stylistic peculiarities of this series make it impossible to conclude with certainty at what period any of these pieces were struck. Tiberian pieces may well exist.

(9) Cnossus. As Muensterberg²⁹ suggests, some of the coins of Cnossus ascribed to the principate of Augustus by the present writer³⁰ may conceivably have been issued under Tiberius, to whom some of them are ascribed in the British Museum Cabinet. This applies particularly to a diverse but obscure group bearing the following names:

(i) M. Aemilius (Plate VIII, 4, only partially legible) described on one occasion as *praefectus Imperatoris Iivir*;³¹ elsewhere he lacks a title (Plate VIII, 2).

(ii) Labeo, who now seems not to be identical with M. Aemilius as was thought;³² he figures as *Iivir*,³³ possibly as [*Iivir*?]*iter*. (Plate VIII, 3)³⁴ and apparently as *Iivir quinquennalis iter*. (Plate VIII, 1).³⁵

(iii) Pollio, who appears with Labeo as [*Iivir*?]*iter*. and *Iivir quinquennalis iter*. (Plate VIII, 1).³⁶

²⁵ As *FITA*, p. 112, nn. 19, 20. The Oxford and Paris specimens of the former piece, and *BMC*, 92, of the latter, show no sign of the ethnic; though the first-named of these, illustrated here (Plate VIII, 10), is struck off the flan to such an extent that this would not in any case be visible. The Berlin specimens are now inaccessible.

²⁶ See below, Appendix 6.

²⁷ E.g. Rouvier, *JIAN*, 1900, p. 279, nos. 497 f., and probably *ibid.*, no. 281, no. 503. No. 497 recalls portraits on issues of peregrine cities ascribed to Claudius (e.g. *FITA*, Plate X, 20 ff., 31 ff., etc.). The head of 498, an uncouth coin of which variants exist at Vienna and Munich, somewhat recalls the features of Tiberius, but the execution of the reverse strongly suggests a considerably later (Flavian?) date.

²⁸ Rouvier, *JIAN*, 1900, p. 281, nos. 504 f., cf. *FITA*, p. 260.

²⁹ *NZ*, 1911, p. 125.

³⁰ *FITA*, p. 262: the description there is augmented, and to some extent superseded, by new material quoted here.

³¹ Mr. A. M. Woodward has kindly informed the writer of a specimen in his collection reading apparently M. AEMIL. PRAE. IMP. IIVIR.

³² A newly acquired British Museum example reads . . . MILI. PRAE. LAB. . . .

³³ *BMC*, *Corinth*, etc., p. 62, no. (attributed to Corinth) 513.

³⁴ Svoronos, I, p. 92, no. 201: POLLION. ITER. LABEON.

³⁵ Svoronos, I, p. 92, no. 199; *id.*, *RN*, 1888, p. 355 and Plate XVII, 4; Grose, II, p. 490, no. 7073: LABEONE POLLIONE IIVIR. Q. ITER.

³⁶ See last two notes.

(iv) Ti. Caesar, who figures as *Ilvir* (Plate VIII, 2)³⁷ and *Ilvir iter*.³⁸

The present writer has preferred to consider the series Augustan and to identify Ti. Caesar here as Tiberius (in the reign of Augustus);³⁹ it is, however, possible that this *duovir* is instead Ti. Gemellus (in the reign of Tiberius), as at Paestum.⁴⁰ What is needed, as so often, is a carefully described Corpus of this coinage.

(10) Antioch in Pisidia. Hill attributes to "the time of Augustus and Tiberius" a small piece with the ethnic C·C·AN·;⁴¹ but Ramsay ascribes the introduction of the name "Antiochia" to Vespasian or thereabouts.⁴² Hill⁴³ and Babelon⁴⁴ rightly reject a piece with CAE·ANTIO·COL·S·R·, on which the third century obverse has been tooled to show legend and portrait of Tiberius.

(11) Perhaps Cassandrea (no. 32) should also have been included in this list rather than in the text (Plate IV, 4).

³⁷ Paris, Vienna: *FITA*, p. 262, no. 9.

³⁸ British Museum (the piece which seems to distinguish Labeo from M. Aemilius): TI. CAISAR IIVIR. ITER.

³⁹ *FITA*, p. 263.

⁴⁰ See above, Chapter III, section ii.

⁴¹ *NC*, 1914, p. 303, no. 10.

⁴² *SBRP*, p. 150, cf. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 304, n. 6.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

⁴⁴ *Inventaire de la Collection Waddington*, 3580.

The *municipia civium Romanorum*

THE *municipia*¹ do not form part of the subject of this study, but they are closely linked with it; so that an examination of the colonies would be incomplete without some reference to the municipal coinages, and to the relative status of the two kinds of community.

As regards the former of these two questions, there are only two non-Spanish *municipia* of which Tiberian coins have been identified.² One of these two cities is Utica (Plate VIII, 8, 9),³ which was still of this status and not an Augustan colony as Scramuzza calls it:⁴ some of its issues under Tiberius have, alternating with D·D·P·P·, the ethnic M(*unipipes*?) M(*unicipi*?) I(*uliae*) V(*ticae*).⁵ Though not a very common series, the coins of this city show several remarkable features, some of which have been referred to cursorily in the text.⁶ Most of them show the "Livia as priestess" type, and mention, in the Dative or Ablative, the name of the proconsul C. Vibius Marsus (A.D. c. 27-30).⁷ The names of seven *duoviri* appear singly,⁸ two of them being called AVG· or A·,⁹ signifying *Augustalis*¹⁰ or [*duovir*] *Augusti*.¹¹ Two further varieties are in-

¹ For the present purpose this term is restricted to *municipia civium Romanorum*, i.e. does not include the Latin cities which were sometimes likewise described as *municipia*, cf. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, p. 293, n. 23, Steinwenter, *RE*, X, 1269, *FITA*, p. 336.

² The earliest coins of *municipium Stobi* (*Numismatar*, II, 1935, p. 33, cf. Kubitschek, *Gnomon*, 1937, p. 25, n. 1) seem to be later.

³ Müller, II, pp. 159 ff.

⁴ *EC*, p. 277, n. 16.

⁵ As restored by Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, IV, pp. 247 ff., cf. Müller, II, p. 164. Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, *Decade X*, *Oss.* IV, prefers some such formula as *municipium munitum* (for *munitum* cf. *FITA*, p. 285).

⁶ E.g. for local signatories and formulas, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C; for Utica as mint, *ibid.*, subsection D; for the proconsul, Chapter II, section ii, subsection A; for Livia as priestess, Chapter III, section iv, subsection B.

⁷ De Laet, p. 92, no. 410, p. 246.

⁸ L. Caecilius Pius, Q. Caecilius Jovinus, Sex. Tadius Faustus, C. Sallustius Justus, M. Tullius Judex, C. Caelius Pax, C. Cassius Felix.

⁹ C. Caelius Pax *Aug.*, C. Cassius Felix *A.*

¹⁰ As Müller, II, p. 166, cf. the interpretation by Florez, *Medallas de las colonias, municipios y pueblos antiguos de España*, p. 652 (rejected by *FITA*, p. 237, n. 7) of *quinq. Aug.* under Augustus (of which the tentative attribution to Thermae Himeraeae

scribed with the names of Ner. Caes. q(*uinquennalis*) pr(*aeffectus*?) A·N· Gemellus, Dr. Caes. q(*uinquennalis*) pr(*aeffectus*?) T·D· Rufus.¹²

The second city of this category coining outside Spain after the death of Augustus is Tingis; possibly it was linked with Baetica administratively.¹³ Carcopino wrongly describes it as a colony.¹⁴ Its coins show on either side the heads of Nero and Drusus, the sons of Germanicus, inscribed NERO IVL· TIN· and DRVSVS respectively.¹⁵ But it cannot be regarded as certain that this piece was not issued in the principate of Caligula,¹⁶ under whom honours to these princes were revived.

At first sight this paucity of municipal coinages seems to present a contrast to the reign of Augustus, in which about eight non-Spanish *municipia* coined;¹⁷ but the contrast diminishes when we limit the comparison to the last decade or two of the latter's lifetime.¹⁸ For in this more limited period not more than three such cities coined,¹⁹ and two of those apparently for foundations—that is to say, special occasions which could not be expected to recur under Tiberius. The apparent reduction in the latter's reign becomes even more negligible when it is recalled that Utica's extensive coinage seems to have had no precedent under Augustus,²⁰ and that, in Spain, eight *municipia* appear to have issued coinage under Tiberius²¹ and only five in the last years of Augustus.²² It cannot, therefore, be concluded that any diminution of municipal mints started at the ac-

is rightly refuted by A. Beltrán, *Las Monedas Latinas de Cartagena*, p. 29, on grounds of provenance; but his reversion to Carthago Nova is not satisfactory). One specimen is now seen to read *Augur*.

¹¹ Cf. the interpretation by Cuntz, *Klio*, 1906, p. 471 (cf. *FITA*, pp. 195 f.) of *IIvir Aug. des. at municipium Halaesa* under Augustus; cf. *IIIvir.Au. at Thuburnica*(??), *FITA*, p. 185.

¹² I.e. *quinquennalis* Genitive; or *quaestor propraetore*, as Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, IV, pp. 247 ff., cf. Müller, II, p. 165.

¹³ Cf. *FITA*, p. 15.

¹⁴ *BAF*, 1934, pp. 165 f.

¹⁵ New York; Abaecherli Boyce, *NNM*, 109, 1947, pp. 21 ff. and Plate III, 8, 9.

¹⁶ Cf. *NC*, 1948, p. 114.

¹⁷ *FITA*, pp. 149 ff.

¹⁸ As is done also in Chapter I, section ii, subsections A-D, and in Appendices 4 and 5.

¹⁹ Uselis, Agrigentum, Haluntium (?): *FITA*, pp. 153, 196 f., 199 (see also Appendix 5).

²⁰ Cf. *FITA*, p. 182, n. 1.

²¹ Bilbilis, Calagurris, Dertosa, Emporiae, Osca, Saguntum, Turiaso, Italica.

²² Bilbilis, Calagurris, Emporiae, Osca, Turiaso.

cession of Tiberius, any more than a diminution of colonial mints;²³ nor is any diminution noticeable *during* his reign, in which a number of municipal issues are late.²⁴

From this point of view, then, no light is thrown on the problem of the relative status of *municipia* and colonies. The distinction between these two classes of community had been sufficient under Augustus for the *municipia* to preserve greater outward signs of independence which were sometimes reflected on the coinage; though this did not apply to all coinages. In any case the distinction had already come to be of little practical significance.²⁵ Under Tiberius the numismatic signs of autonomy on the one hand and dependence on the other retain roughly similar proportions, and there are no signs of an increased tempo in the assimilation of the two classes of community.²⁶ For Utica, in portraying Tiberius as *princeps*, is doing as other *municipia* had done under Augustus;²⁷ Tingis represents the *domus Augusta* as Gades had before it.²⁸ Again, *municipia* Osca, Saguntum and Turiaso begin under Tiberius to describe their fourth magistrates as aediles,²⁹ like colonies; but even under Augustus other *municipia* had done the same.³⁰ *Municipium* Dertosa seems to follow a further Augustan precedent by celebrating the jubilee of its foundation by coinage.³¹ It is true that *municipium* Bilbilis excels all colonies in its attention to imperial affairs by being the only Roman city, and indeed apparently the only city of any kind, to accord numismatic mention to the consulship of Sejanus.³² But, against this, *municipi-*

²³ See above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection D.

²⁴ E.g. Bilbilis, and apparently Italica, Osca, Calagurris. Tingis, if Tiberian, falls in the late twenties. Cf. Chapter I, loc. cit.

²⁵ *FITA*, pp. 324 f. Possibly, however, as Jones suggests (*JRS*, 1941, p. 29) the *municipia* did not yet possess what was later known as the *ius italicum*, attributed to them in *FITA*, p. 315.

²⁶ Such assimilative developments as occurred (if any) would form part of a process, inherited from Augustus, of gradual encroachment on Roman cities in general: see Chapter II, section ii, subsection C.

²⁷ E.g. Calagurris, Italica, Uselis.

²⁸ *FITA*, p. 172.

²⁹ Cf. *FITA*, pp. 162, 169.

³⁰ *FITA*, p. 169, n. 3, against Rudolph, *Stadt und Staat im römischen Italien*, p. 87.

³¹ See above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection B; and below, Appendix 6.

³² Vives, IV, p. 56, no. 17 (TI·CAESARE V·, L· AELIO SEIANO COS·), cf. Ciaceri, *Tiberio Successore di Augusto*, p. 293; Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, I, p. 299, n. 3; Kornemann, *DR*, p. 45, n. 4; Rogers, p. 28.

um Emporiae in the same province retains complete "autonomy" of type which persisted until the cessation of its issues, which probably occurred in the reign of Caligula;³³ and in any case a reference to Sejanus *cos.* is comparable to the Balbus *pont.* of Gades under Augustus.³⁴

On the whole, then, it cannot be concluded that the coinage bears witness either to any diminution of municipal mints under Tiberius, or to any increased assimilation of colonies and *municipia*. This negative conclusion is in accordance with our literary *locus classicus* for this principate; for we learn from a speech of Hadrian, reported by Gellius,³⁵ that the distinction between the two classes of community was still considered significant enough under Tiberius for Praeneste to petition for a return from colonial status to the theoretically more independent position of a *municipium*. Moreover, certain new *municipia* seem to have been created after his accession as before it, notably Cambodunum and conceivably Anagnia and Carnuntum.³⁶

³³ Cf. *FITA*, p. 156. Henderson, *JRS*, 1942, p. 7, doubts whether this was a Caesarian *municipium*, as *FITA*, p. 155.

³⁴ *FITA*, p. 172.

³⁵ *Noct. Att.*, XVI, 3, cf. Last, *CAH*, XI, p. 454, Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 708, n. 1, *FITA*, p. 325.

³⁶ See below, Appendix 5.

APPENDIX 3

Spectrographic Analyses¹

SPECTROGRAPHIC analyses recorded in *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, by the method there described,² were made by Mr. D. M. Smith under the auspices of the British Non-Ferrous Metals Research Association. Such analyses as are quoted in the text of the present study, where no reference to *From Imperium to Auctoritas* is given, were undertaken by the same expert through the kindness of Messrs. Johnson, Matthey and Co., Ltd. The method used, somewhat different from that employed on the earlier occasion, is described as follows: "A spark (0.005 uF capacity and 0.06 mH added self-inductance, a 2 mm. spark gap) was passed between a pointed rod of pure graphite and the edge of the coin supported in a specially constructed V-shaped holder with spring clip. A pre-spark period of 5 seconds was given and two exposures of 20 seconds on the same spot were photographed with a flat-field medium size quartz spectrograph, on Ilford Ordinary plates. . . . In the absence of standard copper alloys of known composition, it is not possible to give the percentages of the alloys in question. The coins showing the highest content are grouped under 'A,' the next highest content 'B,' and so on. Unfortunately these groups are not very sharply divided and in some cases it has been difficult to assign a coin definitely to one group. Moreover, the relative proportions as represented by the various groups cannot be stated, again on account of the lack of analysed samples." Lead and zinc constituents are classified A-C, and tin A-E, since "tin can be detected in smaller quantities than zinc."

It should be noted that these classifications do not necessarily correspond with those in *From Imperium to Auctoritas*. The following notes on the new classifications need to be added:

(1) Mr. D. M. Smith points out that all the coins analysed under the auspices of Messrs. Johnson and Matthey—a varied selection including official copper and *orichalcum*, and the bronze of peregrine cities, in addition to the colonial and municipal coins described here—"probably con-

¹ See Chapter I, section ii, subsection A.

² *FITA*, p. 493.

tain lead present as an impurity,"³ even where it is not present as an intended constituent. The spark spectra do not show it in every case, but he considers that the more sensitive arc method probably would. However, the spark method is for our purpose quite sensitive enough, indeed too sensitive, in identifying minute constituents; for, from the metrological standpoint, accidental constituents are of little interest.⁴

(2) "E tin," in the new classification, is estimated by Mr. D. M. Smith at less than 0.1%. Likewise "C lead" and "C zinc" are estimated at more than 0.01% but less than 1%: that is to say, for the present purpose they are negligible quantities. This means, however, that the possibility of "B lead" and "B zinc" also being occasionally accidental cannot be entirely ruled out. This last point raises a question in regard to the old (*From Imperium to Auctoritas*) classification which deserves to be mentioned here. Does "C/D zinc," in that classification, justify interpretation as *orichalcum*? "C zinc" has been considered by the present writer to do so,⁵ and this is probably correct; but zinc is known to occur in many cases as an impurity.⁶ The spectrographic method has remarkable advantages—in respect of the saving of time, coins, labour and expense—which may well lead to its extensive use by numismatists; but there are individual cases of this kind in which chemical analyses, such as have recently yielded good results to Caley, should as far as possible be continued. Only a minute proportion of Roman *aes* coinage has so far received either chemical or spectrographic analysis.

³ For impurities see Caley, pp. 151 ff.

⁴ Perhaps, however, they might eventually be used to test provenance.

⁵ *FITA*, pp. 13, 493, n. 12.

⁶ E.g. Caley, pp. 28, 82, 109, 159.

APPENDIX 4

Weights and Denominations¹

WHILE not minimising the importance of metrology, the present writer has not weighed (or recorded the weighings of) more than eighty-five specimens of the coinages described in this study. The results are recorded here in the hope that they will render some small assistance to the much more thorough operations of an eventual corpus.

<i>No. in list</i>	<i>Number of specimens weighed</i>	<i>Average weight to nearest grain</i>
4	3	64
5	1	50
6	3	77
8	1	62
11	4	125
12	4	71
13	1	143
15	25	106
16	1	63
18	2	333
19	2	199
20	2	107
21	1	317
22	2	239
23	2	121
24	2	462
25	1	315
26	3	106
29	3	678
30	4	228
31	2	125
32	1	87
33	1	118
34, 37-39	8	172

¹ See Chapter I, section ii, subsection A.

No. in list	Number of specimens weighed	Average weight to nearest grain
35	1	72
41	2	101
50	1	51
52	1	96
53	1	82

This evidence is not complete enough to warrant any confident metrological conclusions. Indeed, even if every extant specimen had been weighed, it would still be necessary to bear in mind the likelihood that many different standards existed simultaneously. However, the following conjectural arrangement of denominations is one of a number of possibilities:

Sestertii : Nos. 17, 24, 29.

Dupondii : Nos. 14 (?), 18, 25, 27, 30.

Asses : Nos. 13, 19, 21 (?), 22, 34, 37-39, 49 (?).

Semisses : Nos. 10, 11, 15, 20, 23, 26, 28, 31, 32 (?), 33, 41 (?), 42-46, 48, 52, 53.

Quadrantes: Nos. 1-9, 12, 16, 35, 36, 40, 47, 50, 51.

The coins of Paestum, which weigh the same under Tiberius as in the later years of Augustus, are believed to be *quadrantes*,² and in the list given above a number of other pieces are ascribed to the same denomination; but such interpretations are more usually conjectural, since *quadrantes* often deviated in weight (usually in an upward direction) from one-quarter of the *as* on which they were based.³

The bulk of our pieces are here tentatively classified as *semisses*, a denomination not unknown under the early principate.⁴ One would have expected the unitary denomination to be the more frequent, and it might have been struck below weight; but, none the less, a low denomination for these small pieces is suggested by the considerable number of larger denominations issued, and particularly by the very large size of certain other coins—e.g. issues of Gades under Augustus (c. 630 gr.),⁵ and our

² *FITA*, p. 288 and n. 2 (nos. 1-9 here).

³ Cf. Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. xlviii.

⁴ *FITA*, p. 125 (references).

⁵ *FITA*, p. 172 and n. 6.

no. 29 of Hippo Diarrhytus (c. 678 gr.).⁶ These bronze pieces⁷ are presumably *sestertii*, since a higher *aes* denomination than this is improbable:⁸ their high weight is not inconsistent with the 421 grains of the official *sestertius* of *orichalcum*.⁹ But if this is what they are, nos. 25, 27 and 30 are likely to be *dupondii*, nos. 26, 28 and 31 *asses*; compare nos. 22 and 23 respectively at Thapsus.¹⁰ If this is so, then the smaller pieces in this series cannot, if they belong to the same standard (of which, indeed, there is no proof), be *asses* also, but must be *semisses*.

On this assumption our bronze *as* ranges from c. 234 to c. 160 grains. Within this range, too, fall the abundant Tiberian bronze pieces of many Spanish cities, and also the bronze units (surely *asses*) of Nemausus during the whole Julio-Claudian period.¹¹ The weight of the copper *as* at Rome is, appropriately,¹² at the bottom of this range (168.5 grains).¹³

As stated in the text, however, no tightening of the standard under Tiberius can be deduced from the apparently smaller fluctuations of the colonial *as* in his reign than in the reign of Augustus. It is true that under

⁶ But weights here fluctuate so greatly, among the only three pieces weighed, that the average may not be reliable: they are 840, 628.8 and 564.8 grains (Müller). These pieces with the name of P. Cornelius Dolabella weigh considerably more than the corresponding ones with that of L. Apronius (no. 24), which average only c. 462 grains, rather more than Tiberian issues of Acci (c. 415), Tarraco (c. 400), Caesaraugusta (c. 440) and Turiaso (c. 390): Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, Plates XV, 5, V, 8, XXXIII, 4, etc. But this disparity of weights between the two sets of pieces of apparently the same denomination may conceivably have something to do with the fact that the former overlapped, while the latter preceded, Tiberius' reform of the coinage in A.D. c. 22-23 (*RAI*, Chapter III, section i). For this reform included the issue of *sestertii* of *orichalcum* attaining for the first time the proper weight of 421 grains (no *sestertii* at all having been issued at Rome for many years), and this may have compelled local mints (which probably had an unfavourable rate of exchange with official issues, cf. Caley, p. 149) to keep their bronze issues heavier.

⁷ But the Gades coins have not been analysed, so it cannot be proved that they are of bronze.

⁸ There is no evidence of survival of the Republican *tressis* (*FITA*, pp. 31, 44, 88, 208).

⁹ For the weight of the latter, Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. liv. Bronze was considered less valuable than *orichalcum*: *RIC*, I, p. 24, *FITA*, p. 300, against Burns, *Money and Monetary Policy in Ancient Times*, p. 302.

¹⁰ On this interpretation, the issues of Hippo and Thapsus are tridenominational and quadridenominational respectively.

¹¹ C. 189 grains: *FITA*, pp. 75, 300.

¹² For bronze was probably considered less valuable than copper: *FITA*, p. 300, against Burns, *Money and Monetary Policy in Ancient Times*, p. 305.

¹³ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. xlv.

Augustus such *asses* seem on occasion to have been as heavy as 350 and as light as 80 grains,¹⁴ but if we limit the comparison to the last sixteen years of his reign (the procedure that has been adopted for other such comparisons¹⁵), variations of this magnitude no longer occur. For in that period¹⁶ there are practically no colonial pieces over 300 grains and very few over 250; the Spanish coinage already varies within comparatively narrow limits; and such small pieces as are attributable to those years have as much claim to be considered *semisses* as have similar pieces under Tiberius.

¹⁴ *FITA*, p. 300.

¹⁵ Cf. Chapter I, section ii, subsections A-D, Appendices 2, 5.

¹⁶ For the coinage of those years see Chapter I, section ii, subsection D; for *municipia*, Appendix 2.

Colonial foundations and their coinages under Tiberius¹

THE fact that a number of cities which had coined between Actium and A.D. 14 did not coin under Tiberius is of no economic significance, since it is often to be explained by the fact that these cities had owed their Augustan mintages to a *deductio* or *constitutio* or *restitutio*, occasions which did not recur at the same cities under the second *princeps*. A very considerable proportion of the colonial and municipal issues of Augustus had belonged to this category of "foundation" or "restoration" coinages.² In attempting to examine the practice of his successor in this respect, we are faced at the outset with an apparent contrast. Under Tiberius no *municipium*, and not more than one colony (if that), seems to maintain the custom of celebrating its foundation by coinage. This single colony to which a Tiberian issue of this category is tentatively attributed is Panormus: the present writer has elsewhere offered arguments, albeit admittedly conjectural ones, for attributing our issue no. 10 (Plate I, 15) to a colonial foundation (or rather re-foundation in the Roman right, after a peregrine hiatus since there had been a long-extinct Julian *constitutio* as a *municipium*³) in the early years of the principate of Tiberius.⁴ This attribution is chiefly based on the probability that all other names of proconsuls appearing on the coinage of Roman cities in Sicily are ascribable to a similar purpose.⁵ The other governors in question are Augustan, but a Tiberian date seems not improbable for the foundation of Panormus.⁶ If this is so, Silva or Silvanus,⁷ whose coin strikingly resembles a peregrine issue of that city,⁸ was (by the anal-

¹ See Chapter I, section ii, subsection B.

² *FITA*, pp. 290 ff. sum up.

³ *FITA*, p. 190.

⁴ *FITA*, pp. 197 f., n. 6.

⁵ *FITA*, pp. 196 ff., 237 f. The present writer's chronological interpretation of the Augustan colonisation and municipalisation of Sicily differs from that of Kahrstedt, *Klio*, 1942, pp. 254 ff.

⁶ *FITA*, pp. 197 f., n. 6.

⁷ For the name see recently Groag, *PIR*², III, p. 94, 2, who, however, favoured an earlier date.

⁸ Cf. Bahrfeldt, *RS*, 1904, Plate IV, 92.

ogy of the Augustan governors⁹) perhaps the proconsul who undertook the *adsignatio* on behalf of the *deductor* Tiberius. Issues nos. 11 ff., lacking proconsular signatures, could conveniently (though conjecturally) be considered to belong, in whole or in part, to the category, described in *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, of second mintages from the foundation fund.¹⁰ These attributions are, however, it must be repeated, still guess-work. We cannot, for instance, exclude the possibility that another issue, mentioning L. Seius, might be the foundation issue of Panormus, rather than of Haluntium to which it has been ascribed.¹¹

There is nothing surprising about the idea of a Tiberian colonial or municipal foundation; for recent research has suggested that a number of such foundations may have occurred. Most of the possible instances to which attention has been directed are in the Danubian provinces. Saria¹² and Chilver¹³ plausibly ascribe Emona to this class. The present writer has attempted, in *Roman Anniversary Issues*, to attribute a coin of Gallienus to the quarter-millenary of a Tiberian *deductio* of Siscia.¹⁴ Scarabantia¹⁵ and Naronia¹⁶ also may well have been colonised not long after the death of Augustus. The same could apply to Aquincum,¹⁷ and possibly to a site on Lake Balaton.¹⁸ Cambodunum looks like a Tiberian *municipium*.¹⁹ Perhaps, like other early imperial *municipia*, it contained a draft of settlers.²⁰ The same may conceivably be true of Carnuntum.²¹

⁹ Cf. *FITA*, p. 293.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 291, nn. 3 ff. See Plate I, 16-20.

¹¹ *FITA*, pp. 197, 199.

¹² *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, II, 10, 1938. Cf. *CIL*, III, 10768.

¹³ *JRS*, 1939, p. 269.

¹⁴ *RAI*, Chapter VII, section i.

¹⁵ Cf. Ritterling, *RE*, XII, 1243 ff., against Kornemann, *RE*, XVI, 596. Kahrstedt, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1935, p. 239, is sceptical about such foundations.

¹⁶ Ritterling, loc. cit. On sources for Illyrian road-building under Tiberius, see Last, *JRS*, 1943, pp. 104, Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 651.

¹⁷ Cf. Alföldi, *CAH*, XI, p. 544 (garrison).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 544 f., cf. Kuszinsky, *The Archaeology of the Neighbourhood of the Lake Balaton* (in Hungarian), figures 88, 101, 108.

¹⁹ Cf. Stade, *CAH*, XI, p. 532.

²⁰ *FITA*, pp. 155, 169, 324.

²¹ It at least reached the stage of being a legionary headquarters (cf. Betz, *Wiener Akademische Rundschau*, V, 1, 1945, p. 3), though this does not necessarily imply that it was an *oppidum civium Romanorum*.

Nor are such possibilities (for they cannot be called more) limited to the Danubian area. In Sicily at least one *municipium*, namely Haluntium, may have been founded in the immediately preceding period, that is to say in the last years of Augustus.²² A late Augustan "foundation" at Haluntium (if there was one) would add plausibility to the suggestion that, under Tiberius, Sicily was still considered a suitable area for city-foundations such as that of Panormus. This would be consistent with the building activity which is known to have occurred in this province under Tiberius.²³ Immigration into Africa may also conceivably have caused *deductiones*,²⁴ and other areas possibly witnessed similar developments.²⁵ As regards Italy, the evidence, if not necessarily more accurate, is at least more positive: we hear of a new *deductio* at Tifernum,²⁶ and Anagnia is said to have been "refounded" by "Drusus Caesar,"²⁷ presumably Drusus junior.²⁸

We cannot, then, confidently accept statements that no colonisation occurred under Tiberius.²⁹ It seems probable that he founded certain colonies in the Western provinces. When Augustus bequeathed to Tiberius a warning to be cautious in his grants of citizenship,³⁰ he would not expect such foundations to be dispensed with altogether. Indeed Augustus himself, while almost totally abstaining from new Eastern foundations, had established or re-established many more Western colonies and *municipia* than has generally been believed.³¹ The list of Ro-

²² *FITA*, p. 199.

²³ Cf. Rogers, p. 213, n. 127, Scramuzza, *ESAR*, III, p. 372, 376.

²⁴ Cf. Rostovtzeff, *SEH*, p. 282.

²⁵ The possibility of foundations under Gaius should likewise be considered.

²⁶ *Liber Coloniarum* = *Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, p. 224, cf. Ciaceri, *Tiberio Successore di Augusto*, p. 218.

²⁷ *Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, p. 230, cf. Ciaceri, loc. cit. But the character of the foundation is uncertain since Anagnia was, later, still a *municipium*, cf. Rogers, p. 136. References in the *Liber Coloniarum* to "Calagna" (*Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, p. 231, and Cereatae Marianae (ibid., p. 233) cannot be corroborated, cf. Rogers, loc. cit., discounting Ciaceri, loc. cit.

²⁸ Cf. *FITA*, p. 285, n. 6. For other possibilities in Italy see Pais, *Mem. Lincei*, 1920, pp. 80, 84, Degrassi, *Athenaeum*, 1946, pp. 42 ff. (Parentium).

²⁹ E.g. Dessau, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, II, 1, p. 90, Scramuzza, *EC*, p. 279, n. 26, p. 281, n. 45.

³⁰ Dio 52.33.3, cf. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, I, ii, p. 543.

³¹ *FITA*, p. 306.

man foundations which have here been quoted as possibly ascribable to Tiberius is likewise exclusively Western.³²

Besides the Augustan precedents, there are other historical grounds for not rejecting out of hand this view of Tiberian foundations. The conciliatory discharges of troops which, we know, followed the mutinies of A.D. 14³³ may well have been accompanied by land allotments, as in the comparable stress of the early Augustan period, rather than by the gratuities which, since 13 B.C., had cost Augustus so much.³⁴ One of our possible Tiberian colonies, Anagnia, seems to have been founded, as has been said, by Drusus junior, and the settlers were possibly men who had been ex-soldiers under him in Illyricum.³⁵ Moreover, a number of the colonies here ascribed tentatively to Tiberius are situated in the very Illyrian lands in which the most serious mutiny had taken place. It was only later that in the interests of economy, Tiberius could venture to be more grudging in the award of *civitas* to discharged veterans³⁶—and, as an alternative procedure, to grant *civitas* in lieu of discharge.³⁷

This obscure subject of Roman foundations by Tiberius reminds us that his enactments on a variety of subjects may have been more numerous and important than our surviving information reports.³⁸ Comparable to *deductiones* and *constitutiones* of Roman cities, on a smaller scale, were promotions of communities to *Latinitas*, and these too may well

³² In the East Tiberius, like Augustus, concentrated on peregrine foundations: cf. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 74, 89, 137, 163 f., 267, Smith, p. 240, Ciaceri, *Tiberio Successore di Augusto*, p. 221, Charlesworth, *CR*, 1932, p. 265.

³³ Cf. *FITA*, p. 197, n. 6.

³⁴ On the Augustan policy see particularly Syme, *RR*, p. 352.

³⁵ On his régime there, see most recently Betz, *JAIW*, 1943; Beiblatt, pp. 131 f.; and Rogers, pp. 119 ff. The *Liber Coloniarum* says *populus deduxit* of Anagnia (*FITA*, p. 284), but possibly Drusus—and Germanicus elsewhere—may have been allowed to hold the position of founder, perhaps like C. Caesar Aug. n. earlier at Berytus, *FITA*, p. 259, cf. pp. xv, 239, n. 7. Drusus junior also gave a city-gate to Laus Pompeia with Tiberius, *CIL*, V, 6358, cf. Rogers, p. 136.

³⁶ There seems no good reason to assign the change in policy to A.D. c. 19, as Scramuzza, *EC*, p. 279, n. 26, p. 281, n. 45.

³⁷ Birley, *JRS*, 1938, p. 226. It may, however, have been not Tiberius but Claudius who developed most extensively the practice of giving *civitas* to *auxilarii*, cf. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, p. 192.

³⁸ On various aspects of these, see Hammond, pp. 161, 163, 296, n. 23, 298, n. 40; Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 613, n. 2; Buckland, *ibid.*, XI, p. 812; Kornemann, *Gnomon*, 1938, p. 561; Arangio-Ruiz, *Augustus*, p. 142.

have continued in the principate of Tiberius.³⁹ This may have been the cause of unprecedented and isolated Tiberian coinages at three Latin cities of Nearer Spain, namely Graccurris, Osicerda and Cascantum.⁴⁰ Similar isolated issues, both in Spain and elsewhere, have very often proved to commemorate city-promotions and foundations;⁴¹ and, indeed, this character has been specifically ascribed to Augustan mintages of Segobriga, Ercavica, Segovia and other Latin cities.⁴² Finally, outside Roman or Latin foundations, Tiberius, doubtless without exceeding the bounds prescribed by Augustus, also awarded citizenship to a fair number of individuals.⁴³

Perhaps then the policy of Tiberius regarding enfranchisement, if not spectacular in comparison with Caesar, was not altogether negative.⁴⁴ At first sight, it is true, his foundations and foundation-coinages seem few in comparison with those of Augustus; but if, as is more appropriate,⁴⁵ we compare his practice with Augustus' last period (2 B.C.-A.D. 14), the apparent contrast vanishes. The last decade or so of the lifetime of Augustus may perhaps have witnessed the *constitutio* of *municipia* Agrigentum and Haluntium;⁴⁶ but a policy of economic retrenchment was being followed, and the ascription to that period of colonies—at least in appreciable numbers—is unlikely. Thus in those years, as under Tiberius, the foundation-coinages that were so common in the first decade after

³⁹ Cf. McElderry, *JRS*, 1918, p. 74. But Abdera should probably not be included in this category, Sutherland, *RIS*, p. 245, n. 29, against Hubner, *CIL*, II, p. 267; probably there were some stipendiary foundations also.

⁴⁰ Vives, IV, pp. 113, 101, 108; Hill, 50, 1931, pp. 181, 100, 168. For the Latin status of these cities see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, III, 24.

⁴¹ *FITA*, p. 290.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 335 ff. For Tiberian coinages of Segobriga and Ercavica see Vives, IV, pp. 48, 109, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. xxiii. Another Latin city which coins under Tiberius is Carteia, cf. *FITA*, p. 473, Rogers, p. 135 (GERMANICO ET DRVSO II VIR.).

⁴³ Cf. Pippidi, *REL*, 1932, p. 285; Scramuzza, *EC*, pp. 84, 257, n. 2, 258, n. 11, 259, n. 14; Smith, pp. 118 f., 244, nn. 106 f.; Ramsay, *SBRP*, p. 46; Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, IV, p. 239. For the constitutional basis of enfranchisement, Hammond, p. 256, n. 50; Scramuzza, *EC*, p. 276, n. 7; cf. M. Pomponius Marcellus: *tu enim, Caesar, civitatem dare potes hominibus, verbo non potes*, Suet., *Gramm.*, 22; cf. Buckland, *CAH*, XI, p. 816, n. 1.

⁴⁴ As Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, p. 181; Last, *CAH*, p. 447.

⁴⁵ Cf. Chapter I, section ii, subsections A-D, and Appendices 2 and 4.

⁴⁶ *FITA*, pp. 197 ff.

Actium do not recur;⁴⁷ and there is no reason to suppose that the tempo of foundations was any livelier than it became under Tiberius. But even if we consider, not the sparsity of the late Augustan period only, but the abundance of foundation issues in the early post-Actian years, deductions can only be drawn with great caution. For there is another contrast besides the merely numerical one which would explain, in part at least, the disparity of foundation-coinage. This other contrast is a geographical one: for Spain, the area where Augustan foundation-coinage was most abundant, had no doubt been colonised to capacity, and is not the area in which traces of Tiberian colonisation and municipalisation are prominent. The latter regions are rather those where action was necessitated by one of the great revolts of A.D. 14—namely Illyricum and Pannonia. But unlike Spain, these are areas in which no colonial or municipal coinage of Tiberius, whether celebrating foundations or otherwise, is to be expected. For no such coinage occurs in this part of the world in any other principate either.⁴⁸ These were provinces where the official *aes* circulated, and had already circulated,⁴⁹ too freely for local currencies to be considered necessary;⁵⁰ and the general ban on the latter evidently comprised foundation-issues.

⁴⁷ Sicily, the one province which may have issued foundation-coinage in the last years of Augustus, may have remained the one province to do so under Tiberius.

⁴⁸ The only peregrine coinage, even, is as far south as Apollonia, Head, p. 315. (But Augustan issues ascribed to that mint by Mionnet, *Supplément*, III, p. 321, no. 1736, are to be reattributed to Apollonia Pontica of the Euxine Hexapolis, *FITA*, p. 353.)

⁴⁹ *FITA*, p. 92, nn. 15, 16, p. 93, nn. 1, 2 (references).

⁵⁰ Barbarous imitations to some extent took their place. Such imitations of Augustan and late Tiberian official *aes* are common, but those of early Tiberian pieces are very rare. Many copies are known of the *asses* with Agrippa and Neptune: these are ascribed to the last years of Tiberius by Sutherland, *Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, XIV, 1947 (Camulodunum), p. 155, but in *NC*, 1948, pp. 125 f., the present writer prefers to attribute them to Caligula and Claudius.

APPENDIX 6

Local and imperial jubilees under Tiberius¹

IF one of the main features of colonial and municipal coinage under Augustus was the foundation-issue, another was the jubilee-issue. This category comprises mintages signalling the twenty-fifth, fiftieth, hundredth and other anniversaries of the *deductio*, *constitutio* or *restitutio* of the minting city.² Unlike foundation coinages,³ this custom of jubilee issues shows no sign of waning before the death of Augustus, for the relevant issues of all of these cities except two⁴ fall within the last *decennium* of his principate.

An examination of the issues of Tiberius seems to warrant the suggestion that, as under Augustus, certain cities issued coinage to celebrate anniversaries of their *deductio*, *constitutio* or *restitutio*. In considering the coinage of Augustus it was found that isolated colonial issues—that is to say those which followed and were followed by long numismatic silences at the cities in question—were often of this jubilee character. Just such an isolated piece is our no. 52 of Pisidian Antioch (Plate V, 15). Its portrait is of Tiberius' middle period (A.D. 22).⁵ The only known preceding issues of this mint had portraits imitated from official coinage of c. 19-17 B.C.,⁶ and no subsequent mintage seems to occur until A.D. 76, under Vespasian. The issue of Vespasian has been ascribed in *Roman Anniversary Issues*⁷ to the centenary—which fell in that very year—of whatever change occurred in the status of Pisidian Antioch when the kingdom of Amyntas passed into Roman hands in 25 B.C. The significantly isolated issue of Tiberius may celebrate either the half-centenary of the same occasion, which occurred in A.D. 26, or alternatively the half-cente-

¹ See Chapter I, section ii, subsection B.

² *FITA*, p. 295 (summary): Dyrrhachium, Cnossus, Patrae(?), Uselis (as *municipium*), Cirta(??), Carthage(?), Lugdunum(?), Lystra. Cf. the peregrine city of Leptis Minor, *FITA*, p. 338.

³ See Appendix 5.

⁴ Dyrrhachium and Cnossus.

⁵ It is hoped to publish elsewhere a note on local coin-portraiture and the deductions which it is permissible to draw from it.

⁶ *FITA*, p. 251 and n. 8.

⁷ *RAI*, Chapter V, section i.

nary of Galatia's provincialisation in c. 20-19 B.C., which was perhaps contemporary with the *deductio* of the colony at Antioch in Pisidia.

Comparable, and a more straightforward example of a likely half-centenary coinage, is an issue under Tiberius of the Spanish *municipium* of Dertosa (Plate VI, 5).⁸ This, too, has a portrait of the middle period. It is even more completely isolated in date than the mintage of Pisidian Antioch. For Dertosa does not seem to have coined previously since the single occasion of its *constitutio*, which has been attributed in *From Imperium to Auctoritas* to c. 30-28 B.C.;⁹ and after the single Tiberian issue no further coins of this mint are known.

A variant of the same custom of jubilee coinage seems to be provided by *colonia* Parium. Here a coinage showing Drusus junior, tentatively interpreted as official¹⁰ (Plate VIII, 10), must have been issued just about half-a-century after 30-29 B.C., the date to which a *restitutio* of this city has been ascribed.¹¹ A *restitutio* of Pella by Octavian is attributable to the same year,¹² and its fiftieth anniversary (A.D. 20-21) would be a suitable date for the early portrait of our no. 34 (Plate IV, 6-7).

Hippo Diarrhytus and Thapsus, however, which seem to have begun their coinage in honour of proconsuls at about the same date¹³ (Plate II, 7, Plate III, 6, etc.), recall that the anniversaries commemorated by such coinages need not be purely local or even—as perhaps in the case of Pisidian Antioch—provincial in significance. The anniversaries thus celebrated may instead, or as well, possess an imperial character. For the mintages of these two African cities, with their honours—simultaneously paralleled in Asia—to the proconsuls who were also *amici principis*, coincided, not perhaps with colonial half-centenaries,¹⁴ but particularly with the half-centenaries of great occasions which prompted much official anniversary coinage, namely Actium and *Aegyptus capta*.

There was nothing new about this Tiberian celebration of imperial

⁸ Vives, IV, p. 18; Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 74; *FITA*, p. 158, n. 6.

⁹ *FITA*, pp. 158, 161.

¹⁰ See Appendix 1.

¹¹ *FITA*, p. 249.

¹² *FITA*, p. 283.

¹³ See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection A.

¹⁴ The present writer now believes the two cities to have been founded in c. 47-46 B.C. and c. 36-35 B.C. respectively.

anniversaries by Roman cities. The same practice had occurred under Augustus. Moreover he too apparently, on precisely these occasions, had allowed similar numismatic honours to his *amici*, for he seems to have selected for this purpose an official anniversary, namely the *vicennium* of the *republica restituta* (7 B.C.).¹⁵ Indeed, in this whole question of jubilee coinages, as in regard to foundation-issues, our limited evidence suggests that Tiberius did not deviate from the practice of Augustus.

¹⁵ See above, Chapter II, section ii.

APPENDIX 7

Some Case-Usages in Ethnic

- (a) Unusual form of Nominative Singular(?): THAPSVM (nos. 22 f.: Plate III, 1, 2).
- (b) Ablative Singular: HIPONE LIBERA (nos. 18-20: Plate II, 4, 6, 8).
- (c) Nominative Plural: THAMPSITANI (sic) (no. 21: Plate I, 14).
- (d) Genitive Plural: PAN[H]ORMITANORV[M] (nos. 11-13: Plate I, 16).

Comments. (a) At first sight this would seem to be an Accusative, and the same interpretation has been given to CORINTHVM under Augustus.¹ But the significance of an Accusative ethnic would be obscure, and the full legend THAPSVM (presumably Subject) IVN·AVG· (presumably Object or recipient²) increases our doubts. The terminations of city-names sometimes vary, especially in Africa.³

(b) This is repeated from Augustan issues.⁴ At Carthago Nova under Tiberius we find an Ablative Singular following IN,⁵ which seems rather derogatory to the authority of the city.⁶ ACHVLLA (no. 14) and similar unvarnished ethnics are usually treated as Nominatives but may in some cases have been intended as Ablatives.

(c) The only known precedents are at Greek cities,⁷ among which Antioch, as here, associates the Nominative Plural with a dedicatory Dative.⁸ At Utica under Tiberius we apparently have M(*unicipes*) M(*unicipi*) I·V· (Plate VIII, 9).⁹

¹ *FITA*, pp. 225, 266.

² For its interpretation see Chapter III, section iv, subsection A.

³ E.g. SITVM and Zit(h)a, Σύλλεκτον and Sullechthi, Thubursicum and Θουβουρσίκα; *FITA*, pp. 187 f.

⁴ *FITA*, p. 224.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215, n. 11, cf. Lorichs, *Recherches Numismatiques*, p. 111, etc.

⁶ Cf. above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C, n. 106.

⁷ E.g. Pitane (*FITA*, p. 387) and Pergamum (*FITA*, p. 388), both with Accusative Singulars of the person honoured.

⁸ *FITA*, p. 376.

⁹ See above, Appendix 2.

(d) A Hellenism: the city had, only a few years earlier while still peregrine, been inscribing its coinage with the Greek Genitive Plural, the normal Ethnic Case in that language. The legend HISPAN-ORVM had been placed by Sex. Pompeius on coinage issued apparently at this very city, and also perhaps at Syracuse.¹⁰

Finally, Thapsus¹¹ and Paestum,¹² like other cities under Augustus,¹³ show varying arrangements of initials comprising ethnic titles.

¹⁰ *FITA*, pp. 29 ff.

¹¹ C·P·I· (nos. 24 ff., Plate III, 3 ff.), as against C·I·P· under Augustus (*FITA*, p. 225).

¹² P·A·E·S· (Plate I, 1), S·P· (Plate I, 9), P·S· (normal).

¹³ E.g. Cnossus (*FITA*, p. 262).

The alleged suppression of "Altar" coinage in c. A.D. 21

MATTINGLY seems to be wrong in suggesting that the revolts of Sacrovir and Tacfarinas led Tiberius to diminish the Western coinage of Roman cities.¹ But the same writer links this to a second theory which, because of this link, needs to be mentioned here. According to this theory the revolt of Sacrovir was likewise followed by "the suppression of the 'Altar' coinage of the 'Council of the Gauls' at Lugdunum."² . . . There was some justification for mistrust of anything that fostered separatist tendencies in those provinces (sc. Gaul and Africa). The special Gallic issues, the 'Altar' coins of Lugdunum, were suspended."³

But this view seems to the present writer indefensible, since:

(i) There is no internal reason whatever for fixing c. A.D. 21 as the *terminus ante quem* for such few "Altar" *sestertii*, *dupondii* and *asses* as may have been issued by Tiberius after A.D. 14. If any such coins were issued at all, they are so rare that it is more natural to postulate a single issue, which might equally have been much earlier than A.D. 21. Indeed, the postulation of that date is doubly hazardous since, as Mattingly himself does not deny, it is actually uncertain whether any such pieces exist or ever existed;⁴ but, even if they turn up, the objection remains valid.

(ii) This being so, the whole onus of Mattingly's theory falls on a Tiberian coinage that does not exceed the most insignificant dimensions. Indeed, though one must not rule out the possibility that some of the coins mentioned in (i) may exist, at present the only piece that remains firmly attributable to the principate of Tiberius is a mere *quadrans* or *semis*.⁵ This issue is undateable: there is no internal reason whatever

¹ See above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection D.

² *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. xviii.

³ *RC*, p. 112, cf. p. 195.

⁴ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 127 n.: *sestertius* in British Museum "probably tooled" from a specimen issued before A.D. 14. "2 AE" with TI· CAESAR DIVI AVG· F· AVGVSTVS (Cohen 40) is accepted and described as an *as* in *RIC*, I, p. 104, no. 11; but *BMC*, loc. cit., is more cautious on both counts: "such a *dupondius* or *as* may, so far as we can judge, exist." "2 AE" adding PATER PATRIAE (Cohen 42) is doubted by *BMC*, loc. cit., as well as by *RIC*, I, p. 104, n. 3. Cf. also Willers, *NZ*, 1902, n. 94, and Strack, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXI, 1904, p. 423.

⁵ Willers, *NZ*, 1902, p. 98. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 127, no. 62, describes it as a *quadrans*, contradicting the description as a *semis* (*ibid.*, p. lvi, and in *RIC*, p. 104, nos. 12-13).

for attributing it to A.D. 21 rather than e.g. A.D. 15, or any date between the two (or even after A.D. 21); moreover, it is not nearly large enough to be regarded as occupying the seven years A.D. 14-21, i.e. as representing a continuation, until the latter date, of the extensive late Augustan coinage.

(iii) The external arguments also are weak. The "Altar" pieces have no "separatist" qualities: they were official Roman coinage.⁶

(iv) Likewise, the Altar itself, far from being a focus for disloyalty, was chiefly devoted (naturally in Gallic forms) to the worship of the ruler: it was the very opposite of "separatist," for it was the deliberately chosen medium through which Gallic religious feeling was linked with emperor-worship.⁷

⁶ *FITA*, pp. 115 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 116, cf. (the best modern description of the Altar), N. J. de Witt, *Urbanisation and the Franchise in Roman Gaul*, Diss: Johns Hopkins, 1938 (1940), pp. 14 f., n. 49.

APPENDIX 9

Non-imperial Romans at peregrine cities under Tiberius

A FEW words on this subject, in so far as it concerns the reign of Tiberius, are necessary in order that the comparable, though different, phenomenon of governors' appearances at *Roman* cities¹ may be seen in proper perspective. First, there are a number of exceedingly rare peregrine coinages showing the heads of non-imperial Romans:

(1) Aegina: ΣΑΒ[ΕΙΝΟΣ ΑΙΓΙΝ]ΗΤΩΝ bare-headed portrait to right of C. Poppaeus Sabinus *amicus principum*—ΑΙΑΚΟΣ dead man standing before seated figure of Aeacus: counter-mark of star.²

(2) Apollonia-Mordiaium: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ laureate head of Tiberius to right—ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ ΚΟΡΝΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ portrait of Cornutus, perhaps C. Julius Patrinus Cornutus, to right.³

(3) Priene (perhaps of Augustus) [ΠΙΟΜΠΗΙ]ΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΡ portrait to right of Pompeius Macer, librarian of Augustus or friend of Tiberius—ΠΡΙΗΝΕΩΝ Zeus standing to left by tripod-altar.⁴

(This custom by which peregrine cities honour Romans with coin-portraiture [for the procedure is purely honorary] does not end with Tiberius, for under Claudius [who spoke of his *legati* as *comites*,⁵ thereby following a Republican tradition⁶] we find portraits of M. Annius Afrinus [*legatus Augusti propraetore* of Galatia] on local coinage at Iconi-

¹ See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection A.

² *FITA*, Plate XII, no. 4, cf. p. 229 and n. 13 (Berlin). The head is rightly recognised as a non-imperial portrait by Friedlaender, *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1871, p. 180, who does not, however, seem justified in refusing to attribute the piece to Aegina; Aeacus was the son of the nymph of that name.

³ *FITA*, Plate XI, nos. 37 and 59 (Copenhagen, from Rhusopoulos collection, Hirsch sale XIII, no. 3873). In *NC*, 1949 (in press), I argue that this coin belongs to Apollonia-Mordiaium and not Apollonia Salbace.

⁴ *FITA*, Plate IX, 34, pp. 388 f. (Paris, Waddington, no. 1928). Not of the third century, as Babelon (J.), *Aréthuse*, I, 1923, p. 3.

⁵ E.g. *ILS*, 986, cf. later *ILS*, 423²⁷, 5864.

⁶ Cf. Stevenson, *CAH*, IX, p. 458.

um and Pessinus;⁷ and of Veranius,⁸ Marcellus⁹ and Antius¹⁰ [legati of Lycia-Pamphylia] at Cibyra.)

Secondly, the following mentions of non-imperial Romans—without portrayal—occur on Tiberian peregrine coinages (in the Genitive after EIII, cf. above, p. 52, n. 92):

(i) Nicomedia:¹¹ P. Vitellius, proconsul and *comes* of Germanicus¹² (with the latter's head).

(ii) Seleucia in Pieria:¹³ Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus, *legatus* and proposed relative by marriage of the imperial family.¹⁴

(iii) Antioch in Syria: ditto,¹⁵ and L. Pomponius Flaccus.¹⁶

(iv) Aegeae (Cilicia):¹⁷ (Q. Terentius?) Culleo.¹⁸

(v) Caesarea—Germanica(?): Sura.¹⁹

(vi) Tabae. Se (?), with the heads of Germanicus and Drusus junior (or Nero Drusus—in which case a Claudian date is perhaps more probable).²⁰

(vii)-(xi) (silver coinage) Cydonia,²¹ Eleuthernae,²² Gortyna,²³ Hier-

⁷ *FITA*, Plate XII, 10; Imhoof-Blumer, *KM*, p. 416, no. 3; Babelon, *RN*, 1887, pp. 109 ff.; *PIR*, I², 106, 630; Ramsay, *JRS*, 1922, p. 159.

⁸ *FITA*, Plate XII, 16; Imhoof-Blumer, *KM*, p. 256, no. 26; Löbbecke, *ZfN*, 1887, p. 51.

⁹ *FITA*, Plate XII, 17; Imhoof-Blumer, *KM*, p. 257, no. 27.

¹⁰ Berlin: legend wrongly restored by Imhoof-Blumer, *KM*, p. 256, no. 25.

¹¹ Paris (Waddington, 458), Berlin, Zagreb: cf. Bosch, II, 1, p. 79, *RGMG*, I, 3, p. 516, no. 12.

¹² Syme, *RR*, pp. 356, 361, 487.

¹³ *BMC*, *Galatia*, p. 273, nos. 33 f.

¹⁴ Cf. above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection A.

¹⁵ *BMC*, *Galatia*, etc., p. 169, nos. 150-153.

¹⁶ *BMC*, *Galatia*, etc., p. 170, no. 161, cf. *PIR*, III, p. 76, no. 538.

¹⁷ Berlin, Rome, cf. Mionnet, *Supplément*, VII, p. 154, no. 120.

¹⁸ *PIR*, III, p. 301, no. 54. Bickermann, *AJP*, 1947, p. 356, no. 23, considers him to have been not a governor but a deputy of the *legatus* of Syria.

¹⁹ Sydenham, *The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia*, p. 33, no. 54, cf. Macdonald, II, p. 582, no. 5; I hope to defend the present attribution elsewhere.

²⁰ Paris (de Ricci), wrongly described by Mionnet, *Supplément*, VI, p. 547, no. 530.

²¹ Svoronos, I, pp. 113 f., nos. 110 ff.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 136, nos. 48 ff.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 181, no. 192.

apytna²⁴ and Polyrrhenium.²⁵ Cornelius Lupus,²⁶ *amicus Claudii*.²⁷

The *aes* coins of Galatian mintage mentioning T. Helvius Basila, near the end of the reign,²⁸ seem to be official.²⁹

²⁴ Ibid., p. 194, nos. 46 f.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 284, no. 52.

²⁶ *PIR*, II², p. 344, no. 1400; de Laet, p. 114, no. 594.

²⁷ Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 13, 5.

²⁸ *FITA*, p. 328, nn. 2, 3.

²⁹ *FITA*, p. 354, n. 9, p. 399 (Ancyra and Pessinus). He is *legatus propraetore*.

The eastern command of Germanicus

THE whole question of "vicegerents"¹ must be borne in mind when considering the constitutional situation of other sorts of governors such as the proconsuls. Thus, as an Appendix to our discussion of Tiberian proconsuls in Africa,² a brief statement is added here—and such a statement seems somewhat overdue—regarding the position, especially in the East, of the only Tiberian "vicegerent" in that area, Germanicus.

Tacitus describes the position of Germanicus in the East as comprising *maius imperium*, QVOQVO ADISSET, *quam iis qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent*.³ This raises two main subjects—his relation to other proconsuls, and his relation to Tiberius. As regards the former of these subjects, we have two main possibilities: (1) that he possessed a "passive" (Type A) *imperium maius*, such as Cicero had hoped to secure for C. Cassius⁴ before the latter obtained his more comprehensive and "active" (Type B) command.⁵ (2) that he possessed no *imperium maius* vis-à-vis existing proconsuls, but only superior *auctoritas*—the latter being interpreted as the former by later anachronisms (such as the present writer has attributed to Dio's description of Agrippa's vicegerency⁶); in which case any areas which needed to come under his *imperium* can have been temporarily detached from their usual senatorial province and brought into his *provincia*.⁷

If we consider the second aspect of the problem, his relation to Tiberius, we have three possibilities: (A) he was a proconsul under the *imperium maius* of Tiberius; (B) he was a proconsul whose *imperium* was *aequum* to that of Tiberius (the position ascribed to Agrippa under Augustus by Piganiol⁸ and Magdelain⁹); (C) he was *legatus Augusti pro-*

¹ I.e. of commanders and governors in the provinces who enjoyed a special position owing their membership of the imperial family.

² See above, Chapter II, section ii.

³ *Ann.*, II, 43, 2.

⁴ *Cic.*, *Phil.*, II, 30, cf. Syme, *JRS*, 1946, pp. 150, 154.

⁵ Cf. Last, *JRS*, 1947, p. 164 ("strikingly reminiscent.").

⁶ *FITA*, pp. 427, 429, 445.

⁷ However, for a time at least P. Vitellius seems to have enjoyed a normal proconsulship at this time: cf. Appendix 9 (Nicomedia).

⁸ Piganiol, *Journal des Savants*, 1937, p. 152, n. 2.

⁹ Pp. 73 f.

praetore, the position attributed to Augustan vicegerents by the present writer.¹⁰

But, in considering either the upward or the downward relations of his *imperium*, it is important to recall that for part of 18 he was consul (when a clash of *imperia* would hardly arise¹¹); and that a special problem is raised by Egypt.¹² Nor is the question of his auspices any clearer than those of Augustan vicegerents in the East.¹³ There is some excuse for doubts about the position of Germanicus when we recall that he himself was evidently at variance with Tiberius about his status in Egypt and with Piso about his powers in Syria. There are also ambiguities about his previous Western command, as regards *imperium*¹⁴ and *auspicio*.¹⁵

It is unsatisfactory to finish this note without even a tentative conclusion; but the questions involved are too intricate for further consideration in the present study. As has been said, they are chiefly relevant to it by reason of the possible comparisons and contrasts which the position of Germanicus may present to the position of the proconsuls; but the problems that have been outlined here each require fundamental consideration, and, if necessary, reconsideration, before any profit can be derived from these analogies.

¹⁰ *FITA*, p. 428, etc.

¹¹ Cf. *FITA*, pp. 420, n. 4, 426.

¹² Hohl, *Klio*, 1942, pp. 227 f.; Siber, *Sav. Z.*, 1944, p. 264; and Smith, p. 96, against Schönbauer, *SB Wien*, 224, 2, 1946, p. 105, n. 271, deny that he possessed *imperium maius* there. On his so-called Egyptian edict see also recently Oliver, *AJA*, 1942, p. 388; Kalbfleisch, *Hermes*, 1942, pp. 374 ff.; Post, *AJP*, 1944; p. 81.

¹³ Du Four, p. 69, n. 6, points out that Mommsen was in two minds about the auspices of C. Caesar: in *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*¹, p. 225, he credited him with *auspicio*, but *ibid.*,² pp. 173-175, he described this point as uncertain.

¹⁴ These present two aspects: (a) did he first receive *imperium* under Augustus or Tiberius (Schwartz, *RPh*, 1945, p. 37, n. 1; *FITA*, pp. xvi, 429, n. 12)? (b) what was his relation to the usually senatorial province of Gallia Narbonensis? (He had performed a census there, and Hohl, *Klio*, 1942, attributes to him an *imperium maius*, against Schweitzer, *Klio*, 1941, p. 345; for certain aspects of censuses see Hammond, p. 229, n. 9; *FITA*, p. 129.) See Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 156, on Siber, *Abh. Leipzig*, 44.2, 1940, p. 19.

¹⁵ The operations were conducted *ductu Germanici auspiciis Tiberii*, Tac., *Ann.*, II, 41, cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, pp. 1 ff.; but cf. Drusus junior, Tac., *Ann.*, II, 19, *repetendis auspiciis*. Bayet, ed. Livy (Budé), I, p. xxi, n. 2, believes that Agrippa had possessed the auspices—unlike ordinary *legati*, Pease, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 126. See also above, pp. 61 f.

APPENDIX 11

The Augustan origins of the auspices of Tiberius

IT was under Augustus that the doctrine of imperial *auspicia* took shape;¹ and it seems possible that events of 20-19 B.C. and 12 B.C. may have been related to its origins. The case of M. Antonius(?) Primus, a proconsul of Macedonia,² who invaded Thrace in 24 or 23 B.C.³ but then tried unsuccessfully to put the responsibility on the *princeps*, may conceivably suggest that an ambiguous position in regard to the auspices still existed at that time.⁴ But in 20-19 B.C. no less than three developments occurred which may have clarified this situation. In the first place, it was in 20 that the first *ornamenta triumphalia* appear to have been awarded;⁵ the fact that this new honour was, and remained, restricted to the imperial *provincia* seems to stress the monopolisation of the auspices. Secondly, it was no more than a single year later that the last triumph was awarded to a senatorial proconsul (L. Cornelius Balbus)⁶—the end of this custom may be associated with the recognition that such officials henceforward lacked the auspices. Thirdly, the same year witnessed the refusal of a triumph by Augustus, a refusal which was, however, far outweighed in historical importance by the simultaneous establishment in his honour of nothing less than a kind of triumphal cult⁷—indicating his position as the *triumphator* par excellence—a development highly relevant to the doctrine of the supreme *auspicia*. There is, it is true, no definite proof that this doctrine owed any part of its evolution to the events of 20-19 B.C., but this seems a not improbable deduction from their character.

In 12 B.C. Augustus became *pontifex maximus*, and his possession of

¹ See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection B.

² For his position see Volkmann, *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung*, 1935, p. 55.

³ For the date see Syme, *RR*, p. 333 (Stuart Jones, *CAH*, X, p. 136, n. 6, gives 23 B.C.).

⁴ For discussion see *FITA*, pp. 83 f.

⁵ Taylor, *JRS*, 1936, pp. 169 ff., considered probable by Abaecherli Boyce, *CP*, 1942, p. 140, cf. p. 135.

⁶ Cf. Stuart Jones, *CAH*, X, p. 138, n. 2, Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 156, etc.

⁷ Abaecherli Boyce, *CP*, 1942, pp. 136 ff., 139.

that title was thereafter greatly stressed.⁸ Tiberius stressed it also: thus one of our coins honouring the proconsul L. Apronius (Pl. II, 7, 8) distinguishes his portrait from that of Tiberius by the addition to the latter of *lituus* and *simpulum* (*simpuvium*). Combined in this way in relation to a single person,⁹ the two implements symbolise the high-priesthood,¹⁰ just as they had already under Augustus.¹¹ It has been suggested above that the *auspicia principis*, at least in so far as they related to Africa, were based primarily on the "Augustus"—*auctoritas* range of ideas. Whether or not high-priests possessed the auspices,¹² its tenure by Augustus formally increased his religious authority and so perhaps further facilitated the enhancement of the imperial *auspicia*.

The possibility of this connection is underlined by the significance of one of the emblems of the high-priesthood that appear on these coins. This is the *lituus*.¹³ Developing a precedent utilised by Sulla,¹⁴ Pompey¹⁵ and Julius Caesar,¹⁶ Augustus had come to use the *lituus* as a symbol of his religious position with special regard to his triumphal Virtues.¹⁷ A *lituus* had appeared beside his bust on official coinage of 28 B.C.,¹⁸ the year after the *augurium Salutis*.¹⁹ It recurred in subsequent periods of

⁸ On this see now Koch, *Gottheit und Mensch im Wandel der römischen Staatsform*, pp. 133 ff.

⁹ I.e. when the combination does not comprise two separate persons, a *pontifex* and an *augur* respectively, e.g. Gaius and Lucius at Lugdunum, *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 88 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p.c.; and see above, Chapter II, section v.

¹¹ E.g. *quadrantes* of Pulcher, Taurus, Regulus, *ibid.*, p. 40, no. 205. Sometimes other implements carry the same significance, e.g. tripod and *patera* (*BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 20, no. 98 and p. 24, no. 119), but the latter are attributed to 14 B.C. by Pink, *NZ*, 1946, p. 123. For sculptural representations of the high-priesthood of Augustus, cf. E. M. Marianecci, *Notizie di Archeologia, Storia e Arte*, IV, 1941, 2, pp. 21 ff. (not seen).

¹² See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection B.

¹³ The *simpulum* seems to have been associated directly with the college of *pontifices* (Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, I, pp. 343 ff., III, pp. 428 ff., cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cvi; Wissowa, *RKR*², p. 501, is cautious), of which the *pontifex maximus* was head.

¹⁴ Cf. Gag , *RH*, 1933, p. 37, *BMC. Rep.*, II, p. 459.

¹⁵ E.g. *BMC. Rep.*, II, p. 560, no. 7 (posthumous, Sicily, c. 42-36 B.C.).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 542, no. 4135, etc.

¹⁷ Cf. Alf ldi, *R m. Mitt.*, 1935, pp. 24 f., Gag , *RH*, 1936, p. 341.

¹⁸ *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 106, no. 650 (AEGVPTO CAPTA).

¹⁹ On this see especially Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, pp. 249 ff., cf. Hohl, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1943, pp. 621 f.

the reign of Augustus;²⁰ and colonies²¹ and peregrine communities²² followed suit. The *lituus* reminds us of his "Romulus" aspect,²³ for Virgil²⁴ and Ovid²⁵ both link the *lituus* with Quirinus.²⁶ Romulus was the originator of the auspices; and especially relevant to the present discussion is the obvious connection of this widely publicised emblem, through the college of augurs which it represented,²⁷ with the name of Augustus, the concept of *auctoritas*, and (by the false etymology that has been indicated²⁸) the *auspicia principis*. This again suggests that the high-priesthood, in regard to which the *lituus* was stressed, was considered as not unconnected with the imperial *auspicia*.²⁹ This connection may in part account for the prominence of the *simpulum* and *lituus* on the colonial issue honouring Tiberius and L. Apronius (no. 20).³⁰

Two conjectures, then, may be offered regarding the origin of the universal imperial auspices: first, that the doctrine came to be formulated in 20-19 B.C. in connection with the new triumphal cult, and secondly that its development was facilitated by Augustus' acceptance, in 12 B.C., of the high-priesthood.

²⁰ E.g. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 20, no. 100, p. 113, no. 698 ff., *FITA*, p. 139.

²¹ E.g. *FITA*, Plate VIII, 1 (Thapsus), 2 (Simitthu ?), p. 128 (Berytus).

²² *Ibid.*, Plate X, 15, 56, 61, 64, 72, etc.

²³ See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection B, p. 70.

²⁴ *Aen.*, VII, 187.

²⁵ *Fasti*, VI, 307.

²⁶ On the *lituus quirinalis* see Dumézil, *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus*, p. 240, noting the connection with the *ancile* of Numa.

²⁷ Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*², p. 524 and n. 7, Gag  , *MAH*, 1930, pp. 164 ff., 1931, pp. 87 f., 93, 106 f., *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 30, *RH*, 1936, p. 341, Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 275.

²⁸ See above, p. 69.

²⁹ Later the *lituus* was used to distinguish emperors from their heirs (Gag  , *RH*, 1933, p. 17, cf. n. 2), but under Augustus, on what appears to be official *aes* of Africa, we find it accompanying the head of Tiberius but not that of Augustus, *FITA*, p. 139, no. 5, *RAI*, Plate I, 2: does this suggest that in the latter's last years Tiberius was regarded as sharing the auspices, like so much else, with him?

³⁰ The *lituus* also occurs on Tiberian colonial coinage at Paestum (Plate I, 1, 2, 5).

The Augustan origins of the Victory of Tiberius

CERTAIN coinages in honour of Tiberius' *vicennium* stress the theme of *Felicitas* which is so closely akin to that of *Victoria Augusti*.¹ It is therefore significant that the same issues also allude in unmistakable fashion to the current half-centenary of the Augustan *aureum saeculum* of 17 B.C.—just as the Paestan issues of Tiberius (Pl. I, 7-10) show a close link with the coinage of 16 B.C., of which a large part explicitly refers to the new *saeculum* (p. 73). It may well be that this new Golden Age, which was understood to have been made possible only by the victories of the *princeps*, witnessed a decisive stage in the development of the idea of *Victoria Augusti*; just as the crowning "victory" (20 B.C.), which shortly preceded the new *saeculum*, perhaps inspired a "Triumphal Cult" and enhancement of the imperial *auspicia*.²

Each *decennium* and *quinquennium* of the new régime of 27 B.C. was made the occasion for fresh propagandist manifestations³—17 B.C. (*saeculum aureum*), 12 B.C. (*pontifex maximus*), 7 B.C. (*vicennium*), and 2 B.C. (*pater patriae*),⁴ are conspicuous examples. The assumption by Augustus of the high-priesthood in 12 B.C. may have had its effect on the imperial auspices;⁵ and a fresh stage in the evolution of the *Victoria Augusti* may conceivably have been reached at a date not far from the *vicennium* of the régime in 7 B.C. For it was at this time that the worship of the *Genius Augusti* was first fully installed in Italy;⁶ the *Genius* was very closely linked with the *Victoria Augusti*,⁷ and there was a triumph of Tiberius in the same year, apparently accompanied by the issue at Rome of an unparalleled series of *aes* medallions emphasizing the Victory of the *princeps*.⁸ The attribution to this date of a final enhancement of *Victoria*

¹ *RAI*, Chapter III, section ii; cf. above, Chapter II, section iii.

² See Appendix 11.

³ *RAI*, Chapter II, section ii.

⁴ See above, Chapter II, section i.

⁵ See Appendix 11.

⁶ Cf. Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 480, Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 37, n. 3.

⁷ Cf. Gagé, *MAH*, 1932, p. 71, n. 3.

⁸ *RAI*, Chapter II, section ii, where this interpretation is preferred to Pink's attribution to 12 B.C.

Augusti would give additional meaning to another numismatic phenomenon attributed to about the same year. For it is to c. 7 B.C. also that we have ascribed the development of the *amicitia principis* illustrated by the earliest groups of African, and perhaps, also, Asian, proconsuls honoured on local coinage of the principate—the prototype of a similar phenomenon under Tiberius.⁹ Was Augustus' enhancement of the cachet of *amicitia* intended, not only to close the ranks round the heirs to the principate, but also to serve as a consolation for the now evident monopoly of Victory (as of the auspices) in hands other than those of the proconsuls? But these are too clouded waters for further exploration here.

⁹ See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection A.

List of some works cited

Notes

(1) In list B, references to periodicals are usually followed by a brief allusion, within brackets, to the subject-matter. Unless this allusion is enclosed within inverted commas, it does not purport to give the title of the article, but refers only to the aspect to which the citation in the present study is due; this may or may not be the article's main subject. (2) The names of periodicals and of certain other works are here given in the form of abbreviations used also in the footnotes (see list of Abbreviations). (3) Words or letters following the sign (=) (e.g. *Inscriptiones Graecae* = IG) likewise represent abbreviations used in the footnotes and figuring in the list. (4) In list B, works more than one hundred years old are not included. (5) Writers' initials are only given where there would otherwise be likelihood of ambiguity.

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NOTE: The following reached me too late for consideration: Bersanetti, *Athenaeum*, 1947 ("Tiberiana"); Byvanck, *Mnemosyne*, 1947 (Paris cameo); Passerini, *Studi giuridici in memoria di P. Capessoni*, 1947 ("Per la Storia dell' Imperatore Tiberio"); de Visscher, *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 5 sér., XXXV, 1949 ("La Table de Bronze de Magliano"); C. Koch, RE, XVIII, 4 (1949), 2430-2436, s.v. *Pax*.

Addenda

p. ix and n. 10. The new arrangement of the coins of Carthago Nova by A. Beltrán, *Las Monedas Latinas de Cartagena*, though it contains some improvements on *FITA* (pp. 19, 39), includes certain unlikely chronological (pp. 49-53) and geographical attributions (pp. 21, 27, 29, 42:—I now agree that the coins described on pp. 27, 29 are Spanish, but I believe them to belong to other cities).

p. 17 (no. 49). The attribution to Cnossus is confirmed by the occurrence of specimens among Col. Cameron's coins from Crete, now in the British Museum, cf. G. K. Jenkins (*NC*, 1949), who has kindly sent me information about these acquisitions.

pp. 24, 155f. The *argumenta a silentio* could be refuted by the discovery of sufficient unknown coins; but the interpretation of anniversary issues is not likely to be seriously upset in this way, cf. *RAI*, pp. xx f.

p. 39, lines 10 ff. This argument receives further support if A. Beltrán, loc. cit., p. 55, is right in regarding large issues of Carthago Nova (M. Postumius Albinus II, P. Turullius *quinq.*) as Tiberian rather than Augustan.

p. 52, n. 92. But the name of a High-Priest of Asia after the same preposition was eponymous—a permissible distinction, though it is questioned by Fink, *CP*, 1949, p. 256 (and why does he suppose that Augustus and Agrippa Postumus cannot both have been such High-Priests?).

p. 54, n. 111. This Livilla (or Livia or Livia Julia—probably not Claudia, as *RE*, 10, 1, 275, *Stammtafel*; d. A.D. 31) is wrongly described in *CAH*, X, Table I (p. 1058) as the daughter of Germanicus, who was Julia (or Livilla), d. A.D. 41. Zonaras, XI, 2, p. 550 c, refers to Sejanus' betrothal to a further Julia (d. A.D. 43), the daughter of the former Livilla and Drusus jun.; but this may be due to a confusion. (Furneaux, ed. Tac. *Annals*, vol. II, p. 495 [index] wrongly describes this third Julia as "Augusta.")

p. 68, lines 1 f.: "formal truth rather than concealed sanctions of force." For studying the former and yet including a passing reference to the latter (*FITA*, p. 443, cf. pp. 321, 418; unduly minimised by Sutherland, *JRS*, 1947, p. 212, Salmon, *Phoenix*, 1948, pp. 135 ff.), the present writer is charged by Fink, loc. cit., with "himself demolishing his whole elaborate

structure (sc. picture of the 'constitution') with his parenthetical concession." Surely not. A mailed fist could be, and was, concealed by a velvet glove. The two materials, each familiar today, were both regarded as indispensable, but for different reasons and purposes: if they are confused, the study of either will suffer. Cf. *Greece and Rome*, 1949, p. 97.

p. 69. For Verrius Flaccus as originator of both the quotations here (Fest. ap. Paul. Diac., and Suetonius), see W. M. Lindsay, *Glossaria Latina*, IV, p. 93; and as tutor to the grandsons of Augustus, Suet. *De Grammaticis*, 17. He also appears to have drawn up the *Fasti Praenestini*. It is highly probable that official policy should have followed his interpretations.

pp. 70f., 167f., cf. p. 45. On inscriptions referring to Claudius, the title *pontifex maximus* is stressed much more than any other, cf. M. Stuart, *The Portraiture of Claudius, Preliminary Studies*, p. 16, n. 110.

p. 86. *ILS*, 103, refers to the pacification of Baetica by Augustus *beneficio eius et perpetua cura*.

p. 136, n. 13. The Naples specimen, clearly genuine, is illustrated by Gabrici, *Ad Res Gestas Augusti Commentarius de Re Nummaria* (*Acta Divi Augusti*, I, 1945), Plate IX, no. 91.

coin no. 17. I learn through the kindness of Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland that the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford has now acquired a specimen of this piece.

Appendix 2. A. Beltrán, *Crónica del I Congreso Nacional de Arqueología y del V Congreso Arqueológico del Sudeste*, Almeria, 1949, p. 276, quotes a coin at Tetuan giving Tingis the title of *colonia Iulia*. I hope shortly to be able to discuss its date.

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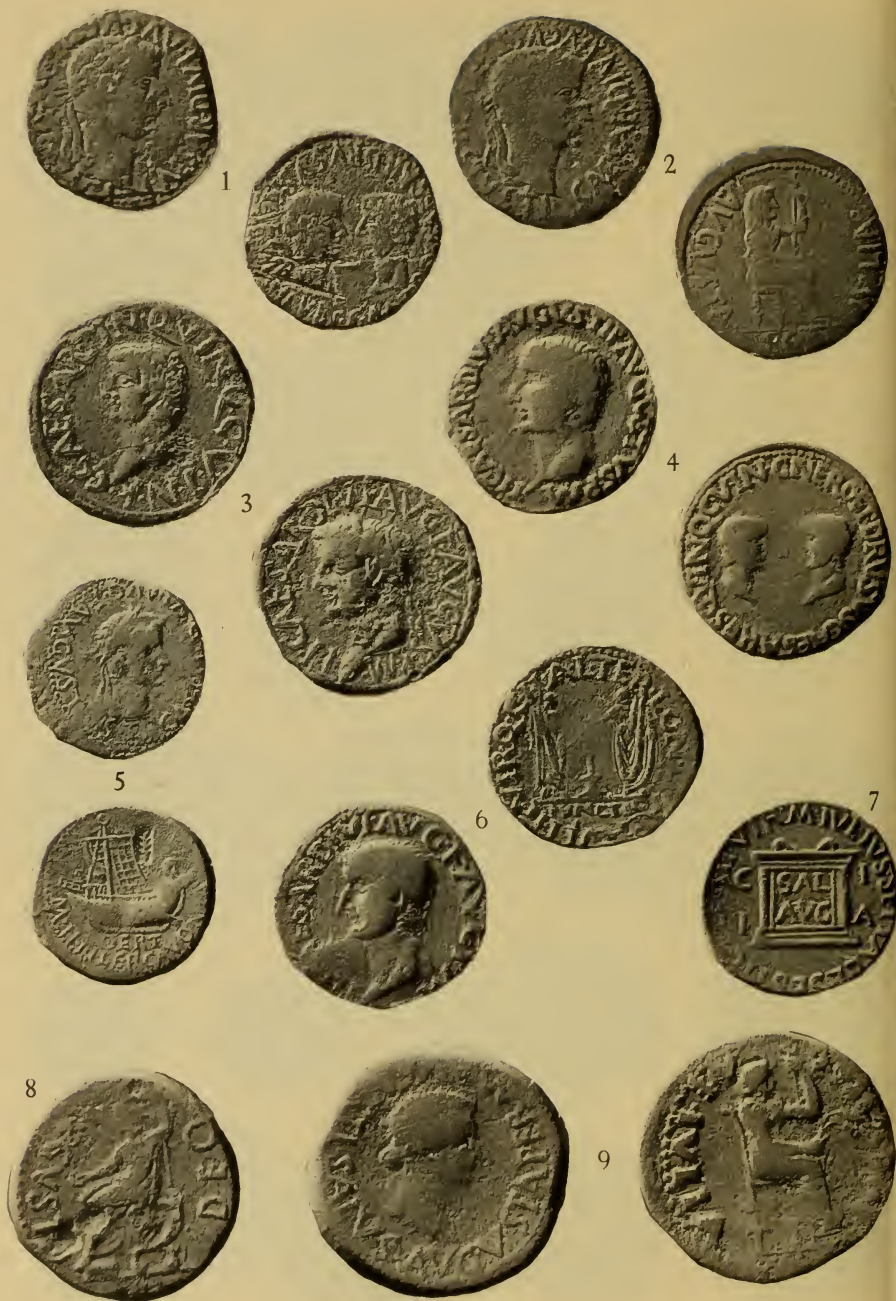


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